EARLY BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES

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A Selection
translated and edited by

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LONDON
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., LTD.
BROADWAY HOUSE: 68–74, CARTER LANE, E.C.
1935

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, LTD., HERTFORD.

Just as the great ocean, O monks, has one taste, the taste of salt, even so, O monks, this Doctrine and Discipline has one taste, the taste of release.

Vinaya, ii, 239.

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NIRVĀṆA

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INTRODUCTION

"All that has been spoken by the Lord Buddha has been well spoken." Thus the Buddhist Emperor Asoka proclaimed to his subjects, and the words are still to be seen on the rock where, over two thousand years ago, he caused them to be engraved.[1] He was evidently referring to a body of teaching, for in the same edict he went on to specify several passages which the monks, nuns, and lay people should hear and learn. We cannot from this infer that the whole of the teaching, the Dhamma, existed at that time in the form in which we have it now, since it was then preserved only by memory. As Asoka's words imply, it was all heard and learnt by heart.

It is certain, however, that from the beginning the Buddhist community was in possession of rules and discourses, which they held to be the actual words of their Founder. Whatever may have been added, and we know that discourses by elders were included, the disciples aimed at preserving the Buddha-word. There is every reason to think that from the first they should have had a body of doctrine. For forty-five years Buddha had taught his followers, and for the first twenty years of that period he had wandered from village to village and city to city preaching to all castes and classes of men.

[1] This is the Bhabru or Bairat No. 2 Rock Edict now at Calcutta. It belongs to the later part of Asoka's reign, probably about 248 B.C. According to the Ceylon Chronicles the death of Buddha is calculated to have occurred in 483 B.C., 218 years before the coronation of Asoka in 256 B.C. See below, p. xx.

It was also a part of the duties of the monks to go preaching. They had been told to teach the Doctrine "for the profit and happiness of many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, profit, and happiness of gods and men". Whatever else may have become included in the Scriptures there is no reason to doubt that the original teaching is in them.

This conclusion does not rest merely upon the unsupported belief of devout adherents. In recent years much has been discovered about the Scriptures of schools other than the Pāli tradition. There is the Mahāsanghika school, usually held to have been the origin of the first schism, and the Sarvāstivādins, a group of schools that became the most widely spread in India. It would be easy to draw up a doctrinal compendium from their Scriptures almost in the same words as are given in the present selection. Not only can we infer a common doctrinal basis, but we can see that this basis existed before the break up into schools, for besides the common material we also find a common arrangement of discourses and monastic rules. There are differences, but they are such as would inevitably arise in a large body of Scriptures preserved by memory.[1] When these other

[1] It has been held that the Pāli school (which called itself Theravāda, or the School of the Elders) did both falsify and mutilate the Scriptures, and that in the time of Asoka all dissident monks were expelled. This would not explain how their teaching, if it then existed, was annihilated, for even if expelled they must have taken their unwritten doctrine with them. Nor does it explain why the other schools have still the same scriptural teaching as the Pāli. There is no evidence for the expulsion of monks. We are told that Asoka expelled *titthiyas*, members of non-Buddhist schools, who had assumed the yellow robe and had come to live with the monks. *Mahāvaṃsa*, v, 228–30.

schools developed peculiar doctrines of their own they never thought of tampering with the word of Buddha *by introducing their own doctrines into the text.* They composed other works, which always remained distinct from the collection of discourses and the monastic rules. Even the Mahāyāna schools, which centuries later so greatly modified the conception of the disciple's career, *left the old body of Scriptures and the monastic rules* intact.

These questions of historical origins, however, can only be approached from the evidence now existing, that is, from the extant Scriptures. Before seeking to " pull down the superstructure " it will be well to determine what that superstructure is. From that we may get a picture of the actual historical Buddhism which developed in India and spread to countries where it still flourishes. The present selection aims at giving the chief characteristics as we find them in the Suttas or Discourses and the Vinaya or Book of Discipline. There we find set out a way of life expressed in a system of moral teaching and methods of meditation, by which the disciple becomes freed from hindrances and attains to full knowledge of the Truths. By starting from the actual Buddhist scheme we avoid as far as possible the danger of introducing the subjective impressions that western interpreters have often read into the system.

The Scriptures also set out classifications of the doctrines and principles to be followed by the disciple in his training. It may be argued that these lists are not original, but they are at least classifications of already existing principles made by the Buddhists themselves,

and they show us the actual system as they understood it. These lists and formulas are not peculiar to the Pāli. They have existed in different schools of Buddhism down to its latest developments.[1]

In the Scriptures references are made to the *Dhamma-vinaya*, the Doctrine (*dhamma*) expressed in the discourses (*sutta*) and the Discipline (*vinaya*), the rules of training and regulations for the daily life of the monks. This division appears as the common basis of all schools. But there is one exception to be made about the common material of the Scriptures. In the Canon as we possess it there is a third division, Abhidhamma or further Doctrine. This consists of seven works dealing with special matters of doctrine and giving much psychological analysis of ethical and dogmatic terms. It is the Buddhist belief that the subjects of discourse in this division were set out by Buddha. But the works that we possess are scholastic developments of these subjects. There is no introduction of new doctrines, and the whole doctrinal system of the discourses is taken for granted. There can be no doubt that they originated gradually in the systems of instruction followed in the Buddhist monasteries. This is the division in which the different schools do not agree. The Sarvāstivādins have a similar but quite distinct list expressly ascribed to several disciples, and some schools, on the ground that it was only the utterance of disciples, rejected this division.

[1] Such is the list of the thirty-seven constituents of enlightenment, which is the nearest approach to a common creed, cf. p. 82.

The Scriptures in this triple division are known as the *Tipiṭaka*, the three Piṭakas or baskets. The general arrangement is as follows :—

TIPIṬAKA

I

SUTTA-PIṬAKA

This consists of the suttas or discourses in five collections or Nikāyas, in other schools called Āgamas.

(1) *Dīgha-nikāya*, the collection of long suttas. 34 suttas in three series.

In the first series of thirteen suttas the scheme of the disciple's training (p. 54) is repeated in nearly every one. Of those wholly or partly translated here are the following : *Sāmañña-phala*, on the disciple's career (XIV) ; *Soṇadaṇḍa*, on caste (XLV) ; *Tevijja*, on the Vedas (XLVII) ; *Mahāparinibbāna*, on Buddha's last days (XI, XII, XXXIX) ; *Sampasādaniya*, on Buddha's qualities (XVI, LIII) ; *Pāsādika*, on the perfect teacher (XXXV, XLIX, LII) ; *Sigālovāda*, on the layman's duties (XXXVII).

(2) *Majjhima-nikāya*, the collection of medium-long suttas. 152 suttas in fifteen series.

A considerable number of legends occur in this group, Buddha's austerities, his enlightenment, first preaching, and his dispute with the schismatic Devadatta. Portions are here given from the *Satipaṭṭhāna*, on the four stations of Mindfulness (XVII) ; *Mahāsīhanāda*, on Buddha's powers (XXXVI) ; *Alagadūpama*, on Nirvāṇa and the self (XXII) ; *Rathavinīta*, on Nirvāṇa (XX) ; *Ariyapariyesana*, on Buddha's striving and first preaching (IV, VII) ; *Mahāsaccaka*, on his austerities and enlightenment (VI) ; *Cūlassapura*, on true asceticism

(XVIII); *Kukkuravatika*, on karma (XXXII); *Apaṇṇaka*, on an after life (XLIII); *Tevijja-vacchagotta*, on Buddha's knowledge (XXXIV); *Aggi-vacchagotta*, on the undetermined questions (LI); *Devadaha*, on the Jains (L); *Gopaka-moggallāna*, on Buddha and the Order (XXXIII, LVII); *Cūlakammavibhanga*, on karma (XXXI).

(3) *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, the collection of connected suttas.

These are in five series divided to some extent according to subject :—

(*a*) *Sagāthā-vagga*, suttas in verse or containing verses.

(*b*) *Nidāna-vagga*, beginning with suttas on the Chain of Causation.

(*c*) *Khandha-vagga*, on the five groups that make up the individual, on heresies, etc.

(*d*) *Saḷāyatana-vagga*, beginning with suttas on the six senses.

(*e*) *Mahā-vagga*, the great series, on the Noble Eightfold Way. See Nos. VIII, IX, XIII, XIX, XXI, XXV–XXIX, XL, XLI, LIV–LVI, LXII.

(4) *Anguttara-nikāya*, the collection of "one member in addition".

It is in eleven divisions beginning with suttas dealing with one thing (quality, doctrine, etc.) followed by lists of two and so on up to eleven, see especially No. XLIV. There is here much repetition, as the lists have been largely drawn from other parts of the Scriptures and classified. See Nos. XV, XXXVIII, XLVIII.

(5) *Khuddaka-nikāya*, the collection of minor works.

While the first four collections with some differences of arrangement are found in the other Canons, this collection is peculiar to the Pāli. Much of the contents is known to have belonged to the Sarvāstivādins and Mahāsanghikas, but it

appears to be only the Pāli school which has arranged it in a fifth Nikāya,[1] and even then the number of works included has varied. Usually there are fifteen.

The first is the *Khuddaka-pāṭha* or minor readings, and portions given here from it are the *Saraṇattaya*, the threefold going for refuge (p. 212), the *Dasasikkhāpada*, the ten rules for novices (LIX), also given in the *Vinaya*, and the *Mahāmangalasutta* (XLII).

The *Dhammapada*, or Words of the Doctrine is a collection of isolated verses and short poems, much of which occurs elsewhere. See XLVI.

The *Udāna* is a collection of fervent utterances of Buddha, mostly in verse, with prose introductions explaining how they came to be spoken. See Nos. XXIII, XXXIX.

One of the most important works in this division is the *Sutta-nipāta* consisting of five groups of suttas with occasional prose passages. They contain some important legends, such as the visit of Asita to the infant Buddha (I); the Renunciation and conversation with Bimbisāra (III), and the Temptation, of which the corresponding Sanskrit recension is given here (V). See also XXIV, XLII, XLVI.

One of the best known works in this collection is the *Jātaka*, the commentary on which forms a series of tales of former lives of Buddha and his disciples showing the effect of karma. Some of the tales also occur in two other works of this collection, the *Petavatthu*, tales in verse of beings who as a punishment have been reborn as ghosts, and the *Vimānavatthu*, tales also in verse of beings who for their merits have been reborn in heavenly mansions, such as the horse on which Buddha rode when he fled from home at his great Renunciation (II).

[1] The Dharmagupta school had a similar list, but it is not called an Āgama; see S. Lévi, "Les seize arhat protecteurs de la Loi," *Journ. As.*, juill.–août, 1916, p. 33. S. Beal, *Abstract of Four Lectures*, p. 79.

II

Vinaya-Piṭaka

The Book of Discipline in three divisions.

1. *Sutta-vibhanga*, consisting of the list of 227 offences, which are recited at the fortnightly meeting of the monks, and a similar list for the nuns. It is extended by a kind of commentary explaining how each rule came to be promulgated, and special cases and exceptions have been added.

2. The *Khandhakas* in two series.

(*a*) *Mahāvagga*, the great series, giving the rules for admission to the Order, ordination, dress, residence, etc. The rules for the performance of ceremonies also exist separately in a series of formulas called *Kammavācās* (LVIII).

(*b*) *Cullavagga*, the small series, dealing with the treatment of offences, the duties of teachers and novices, and the Order of nuns (LXI).

3. The *Parivāra*, summaries and classifications of the rules.

The commentarial portion, especially that of the *Mahāvagga*, contains important legends about the events following the Enlightenment. The first public preaching to Bimbisāra (X) is introduced as the occasion on which Buddha made the rule that ground might be accepted by the Order for the purpose of building a monastery.

III

Abhidhamma-Piṭaka

The seven works of this Piṭaka in the Pāli are :—

Dhammasangaṇi, enumeration of dhammas, i.e. mental elements or processes (XXX).

Vibhanga, further analysis of the foregoing (XIX, 2, 3, 6).

Dhātukathā, discussion of elements, i.e. the elements of sense-consciousness.

Puggalapaññatti, description of types of individuals according to their stages along the Path.

Kathāvatthu, subjects of discussion, i.e. controverted points held by various schools. It is held to have been first " recited ", i.e. promulgated, at the third Council.

Yamaka, book of pairs, psychological analysis in pairs of questions.

Paṭṭhāna, book of relations, causality, etc.

In reviewing all this material a fundamental question that arises is, where is it to be placed as a fact in history ? To what period of time are these Scriptures and the spread of the religion from the north to the very south of India to be referred ? From the Scriptures themselves we get no dates. There we are told that in the Magadha country (South Behar), where the teaching was first promulgated, the king was Bimbisāra. In the later part of Buddha's life we find Bimbisāra's son Ajātasattu reigning, and he had a son Udāyibhadda.

In order to show the basis on which the generally accepted chronology rests it will be well to give the list of Magadha kings with the lengths of their reigns as stated in the Ceylon Chronicles.

Bimbisāra (52).
Ajātasattu (8 years before Buddha's death and 24 years after).
Udāyibhadda (16).
Anuruddha and Muṇḍa (8).
Nāgadāsaka (24).
Susunāga (18).
Kālāsoka (28).
His ten sons (22).

Nine Nandas (22).
Chandagutta (24).
Bindusāra (28).
Asoka (4 before his coronation and 33 after).

The Great Chronicle of Ceylon (*Mahāvaṃsa*, v, 21) gives 218 years as having elapsed between the death of Buddha and the coronation of Asoka, evidently by adding together the regnal years of the kings. These are mostly multiples of four, and are not beyond suspicion, but we have no means of testing them. There are other similar lists in Buddhist Sanskrit works, Jain authors, and the Purāṇas, but they are fragmentary and do not agree among themselves. The chief Sanskrit Buddhist list altogether omits the usurper Chandagutta, one of the most certainly historical of the kings. This is not due to an accident in transmission, for it makes Bindusāra the son of Nanda.[1]

Chandagutta, or in the Sanskrit form Chandragupta, was the grandfather of Asoka, and he has been identified with the Sandrocottus mentioned by Greek and Roman authors. It thus becomes possible to fix the dates of the Indian kings in accordance with western chronology. Sandrocottus is said by Justin (xv, 4) to have been a man of low birth, who had overthrown the Indian king Alexander (a name supposed to be a corruption of Nanda) and to have made a treaty with Seleucus, one of the successors of Alexander the Great. The date of the treaty is put at 305 B.C., and from this the earlier dates are calculated, his accession in 321 B.C., the

[1] *Divyāvadāna*, 369.

accession of Asoka in 269 B.C., and his coronation four years later. This gives 483 B.C. for the death of Buddha and the first Council, 383 B.C. for the second Council in the tenth year of Kālāsoka, and 247 B.C. for the third Council under Asoka (Dhammāsoka).

These conclusions cannot, however, be harmonized with the data found in the works of the Sanskrit schools, and there is still much room for theorizing about what happened before the time of Asoka. But as long as the reigns of previous kings are empty blanks, the actual dates, even if determined, would not have much significance. Both for the purpose of investigating the earlier period and for tracing later developments we must start from the extant Scriptures. It is probable that the contents of these existed as we have them before the time of Asoka, for although they mention Bimbisāra, Ajātasattu, and even Muṇḍa, they make no mention of Asoka. This is not a mere argument from silence, for there was an extensive legend about Asoka, which did get into the Chronicles and Pāli commentaries. It even got into the later canonical works of the Sarvāstivādins, which represent Buddha prophesying Asoka's future greatness, but there is no word about it in the Pāli canonical texts, although the commentators often point out certain additions as having been added at one of the Councils.

The Scriptures thus show us Buddhism at a certain stage of its development, and it is a stage that has not been superseded. Its doctrines remain as they were when the movement came forth into the light of history, and as they are taught to-day in the countries where

the Pāli tradition still flourishes. Even the Japanese who follow the Mahāyāna schools accept the old Canon with respect as representing the teaching of Buddha at one period of his career.

Western inquirers have always found a centre of interest in the picturesque life-story of the Founder—his birth as a king's son, his early upbringing in luxury, when he was shielded from any knowledge of the dark background of life, until he suddenly came to know the facts of sickness, old age, and death, and fled in search of a way of escape. Of this legend there is little in the Scriptures, but the fragments which we find there, mostly isolated ballads, show that they are based on a continuous story.

More important is the character of the Master as we find it reflected in the discourses themselves. It is not merely that of a preacher and moral law-giver. He is represented as always courteous in discussion, patient in opposition, and active in teaching down to the day of his death, on which he converted his last disciple. When he preached each hearer thought that the words were addressed personally to him. From the anecdotes scattered throughout the commentaries we can see how his disciples conceived him as the ideal of human sympathy and kindness. We are told how once, when the inhabitants of a whole street were combining to make a feast for him and his disciples, a poor man who had only one cake to give succeeded in putting it first into Buddha's bowl, and Buddha, accepting this as the most precious alms, refused the offerings of the others. On another occasion a novice, who had been instructed

by the monks in all the moral rules at once, was in despair at their complexity, and decided to leave the Order. Buddha sent for him, and asked him if he thought he could keep three rules. The man eagerly assented, and Buddha told him to guard the doors of body, speech, and mind, and to do no wrong in deed, word, and thought. How far these stories are historical cannot be determined, but they could only have originated in the moral atmosphere created by Buddha, and thus have been recorded as examples of the moral ideal which his followers found in him. It was an ideal both for the monk and the layman.

The principles of morals are universal, but the principles of Buddhist doctrine can only be understood in relation to their Indian atmosphere. Good actions lead to happiness, but not to final bliss. Rebirth must follow, and the unending struggle begins again. How can an end be made of existence in this weary round? That was the problem of all Indian religions, and the answer of Buddhism was the formulation of the four Truths. To realize them is to realize the way of escape to a final state of peace, Nirvāṇa.

That is the positive side of Buddhism, and to that extent it avoids metaphysical theories. It would not, however, be correct to say that they were entirely excluded. Certain definite questions were excluded on the ground that they were useless for the disciple's practical purpose. But in its opposition to other religions Buddhism did not escape metaphysical assumptions. One of these was the principle that everything, as opposed to Nirvāṇa, is compound, and hence

impermanent. Another doctrine concerns the self as being a group of changing constituents, and not, as in the orthodox Indian view, implying something unchanging and permanent behind the self of experience. That view (as in the story of Baka, p. 201) was opposed because it seemed to bind the individual eternally to the unending world of change. But the continuity of this changing self from birth to birth was also maintained. Its denial would have been the heresy of annihilation; and when the individual was looked upon as reaching a state beyond birth, old age, and death, the Buddhist still refused to say of him that he was annihilated.

We cannot assume that these questions were all developed at the same time. The various ways in which they are discussed in the Scriptures point to a growth, not in the fundamental doctrines, but in their elaboration and the methods by which rival theories were met. In the Scriptures we have a body of doctrine which represents the teaching of one of the oldest religions in the world. It merits investigation as such, and also because it still asserts its claim to be a universal religion. It sets forth a teaching which, although arising out of Indian conceptions and presuppositions, still makes an appeal to the most modern problems of religious inquiry.

The translations in the present volume have been made independently, but this independence implies all the more indebtedness to perhaps the greatest recent advance in the study of early Buddhism, the Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary*.[1] It is this work, due

[1] Completed in 1925 by Dr. W. Stede, who has also contributed the etymological portion.

in conception and largely in achievement to the late T. W. Rhys Davids, which has made earlier translations more or less obsolete. Nevertheless Rhys Davids' translations of portions of the *Vinaya* in *The Sacred Books of the East* and of the Suttas in *The Sacred Books of the Buddhists* remain of fundamental importance. That work of translation, which covers a large portion of the Canon, is being continued by the Pali Text Society.

In the preparation of this book I have again to thank Miss G. Hjort, Ph.D., late Fellow of Girton College, for her valuable help in reading and criticizing the whole manuscript. Although responsibility for the conclusions expressed must remain my own, I wish to express my gratitude for the privilege of discussing many points with the Ven. Parawahera Vajiranana, Thera, of Vidyodaya College, Colombo.

BIOGRAPHICAL

I

VISIT OF ASITA TO THE INFANT BUDDHA

There is no connected life of Buddha in the Scriptures, but in the legends attached to the discourses and the rules of discipline a number of incidents are recorded. Some are in verse like this story of the sage Asita, which forms the introduction to a discourse on the Life of a Recluse. Asita had learned from the gods rejoicing in the sky that a bodhisatta (destined Buddha) was born in the house of king Suddhodana. He went to see the child, and from the auspicious marks on his body prophesied that he would become a Buddha. Then, lamenting that he would not live to hear the new Buddha's preaching, he returned and warned his nephew Nālaka (or Naradatta) to prepare himself to become a disciple. The resemblance of the legend to the story of Simeon in Luke ii, 22–32, has often been pointed out.

Inspired with joy the gods of the Thirty [1] exulting,
With Sakka their Lord and the gods of the Pure
    Abode,

[1] There were really thirty-three gods in this heaven, the lowest but one of the heavens of sensual pleasures and ruled by Sakka or Indra, but the metre has hampered the expression. It is probably also due to the metre that in the next line *sucivasane* " having a pure abode " is used for the synonymous *suddhāvāse*, which could not be used in this metre. The Suddhāvāsa gods are the gods of the five highest heavens of Form. *Vasana* can mean " clothes " as well as " abode ", and translators have usually assumed that *sucivasane* means " having clean clothes ", though they are shy of rendering it clearly. The rebel gods are the Asuras, who according to Buddhist and Hindu legend attempted to overthrow the gods and were defeated by Sakka.

Waving their garments and uttering loftiest praises
Asita the sage beheld, as he sat in the open air.
Seeing the gods glad-hearted and exultant,
With awe and reverence he thereupon addressed them :
" Why is the gods' assembly exceeding joyful ?
Why do ye wave your garments and whirl in dances ?
" When with the rebel gods the battle was joined,
The gods were victors and the rebels were overcome ;
E'en then was no astonishment like to this.
What marvels have the gods beheld that they so rejoice ?
" They are chanting, they are singing and making music,
They are waving their arms about, they shout and dance ;
I ask of you, O dwellers on Meru's peak,
Quickly dispel my doubting, O noble ones."
" The Bodhisatta, the precious jewel, the incomparable,
Is born in the world of men for weal and blessing,
In a village of the Sakyas, in the Lumbinī country ;
Hence are we delighted and exceeding joyful.
" He the supremest of beings, the man pre-eminent,
The Bull of men, the supremest of all creatures,
Shall turn the Wheel in the Isipatana grove,
Like a mighty lion roaring, the lord of beasts."
Hearing that word Asita straightway descended ;
Then to Suddhodana's dwelling he made his way ;

Sitting down there he thus addressed the Sakyas :
" Where is the boy ? I too am fain to behold him."
Thereat the boy, gleaming like fiery gold
Wrought by a skilful smith in the mouth of the forge,
Shining in glory and lovely in appearance,
Was brought and shown to Asita by the Sakyas.
Seeing the boy like a blazing flame of fire,
Like the pure Bull [1] of stars gliding in the sky,
Like the hot sun in autumn released from clouds,
The sage inspired with joy felt much delight.
A sunshade many-branched with a thousand circles
The gods were holding over him in the air ;
And yaktail fans with handles of gold were waved ;
The holders of fans and sunshades could none discern.
The black sage, venerable with matted hair, beholding him
On the yellow blanket like a coin of gold,
Neath the white sunshade, which was held above his head,
O'erjoyed, with enraptured heart, received him in his arms.
When in his arms he received the illustrious Sakya,
Eager to take him, versed in the lore of bodily signs,[2]
He raised his voice with believing heart, and said :
" Unrivalled of all mankind is he, supreme."
But when he had brought to mind his own departure,
Sad was his countenance ; then burst he into tears.

[1] Moon (as well as sun) is masculine in Pāli.

[2] Buddha at birth had the thirty-two bodily marks, which indicated that he would become a universal monarch or a Buddha. The white sunshade held by the gods also indicated royal rank.

The Sakyas seeing the sage lamenting said :
" Surely upon the boy will fall no danger ? "
Beholding the Sakyas sorrowful the sage addressed them :
" Nought that will harm the boy do I remember;
Moreover upon him will alight no danger,
No lowly person is he, be confident.
" The summit of enlightenment the boy will reach,
And with the highest, purest insight will set going
The Wheel of the Doctrine, anxious for the good of many,
And far and wide his religious life shall spread.
" Here in this world of my life remaineth little,
But meanwhile the close of my life shall come upon me ;
I shall not hear the Doctrine of the Incomparable ;
Hence am I pained and wretched and afflicted."
Great joy to the Sakya folk the sage imparted,
And leading the religious life he left the palace ;
Then to his sister's son [1] he showed compassion,
And urged him to the Doctrine of the Incomparable.
" When in time to come thou shalt hear the word that 'a Buddha
Has won enlightenment, and walks in the highest Doctrine',
Then go thou to him and ask about the matter,
And with that Lord lead the religious life."
Instructed by him, the kindly-minded noble one,
Destined one day to the highest purest insight,
Nālaka, a store of merit heaping up,

[1] This was Nālaka or, according to other versions, Naradatta.

Expectant of the Conqueror, dwelt with guarded
senses.
Then hearing the word that the Conqueror turned
the Wheel,
He went, he beheld the Bull of sages and believed ;
The noble state of a recluse the Recluse he asked,
When the time taught by Asita had arrived.

Nālaka-s., *Sutta-nipāta*, 679–698.

II

RENUNCIATION AND FLIGHT

Nothing is told in the Scriptures about the life of Buddha between his birth and the time when he left the world. In later accounts he is said to have been brought up as a prince in luxury ; then at the age of twenty-nine, when at the height of his glory, he was struck by the sight of an old man, a sick man, a corpse, and an ascetic, and decided that very day to abandon the world. At midnight he fled on his horse Kanthaka with his charioteer Channa behind him, crossing three kingdoms, and at dawn reached the River Anomā, where he assumed ascetic's dress. He sent Channa back with the horse, but the horse died of grief and was reborn as a god. It is the actual incident of the flight that is recorded in the following poem. Moggallāna, one of the two chief disciples, is said to have had great psychic powers. Once on visiting the heaven of the Thirty-three he saw the god who had formerly been the horse, and who explained why he had been thus reborn.

(The god Kanthaka speaks :) I was born on the same day as the son of Suddhodana in Kapilavatthu, the splendid city of the Sakyas.

When at midnight my master renounced the world

to win enlightenment, he patted my shoulder with his soft hands bright with copper-hued nails.

"Bear me, friend," he said, "I will deliver the world when I have attained supreme enlightenment."

When I heard his voice I gave a great neigh; delighted at heart and joyful then did I wish.

And when I perceived that the glorious son of the Sakyas had mounted me, delighted at heart and glad I bore the supreme man.

Having passed through the realms of other kings he left me and Channa, and without a look went away.

His feet with copper-hued nails I licked with my tongue, and weeping I looked at the great hero as he went.

And when that glorious son of the Sakyas was out of sight, heavy sickness came upon me, and soon death overtook me.

Even through his power is it that I abide in this palace, endowed with all kinds of divine pleasures of sense and in this city of the gods.

And in that I neighed when I heard the word "enlightenment", therefore through this root of merit shall I reach the destruction of the āsavas.[1]

If, reverend one, thou shouldst go into the presence of our Master the Buddha, deign in my name also to speak a salutation with thy head.

I, too, would go to behold the conqueror, the peerless man; a hard thing is it to behold such Lords of the world.

Vimānavatthu, VII, 7.

[1] The three dispositions: sensual desire, desire for existence in the world of change, and ignorance, which tend to rebirth; see p. 67.

III

INTERVIEW WITH BIMBISĀRA

Gotama after dismissing his charioteer went on to Rājagaha, capital of the Magadhas, where he began to beg. Then he was seen by king Bimbisāra and questioned, as the following poem tells. It will be noticed that the description of the Renunciation is much simpler than that of the later tradition. Here the account uses expressions taken from the canonical account of a disciple's career (p. 58 f.). Exactly as is there said of the disciple, Gotama leaves a household life for the open air, because it is "encumbered . . . a place of dust", he "gets a livelihood by pure means", and having his senses guarded and restrained he is endowed with good conduct. But he has yet to discover the right method of meditation and concentration.

The going forth will I proclaim, how he of clear vision went forth, how he considered and found delight in going forth.

"Encumbered is this household life, a place of dust; going forth is in the open air." Thus he considered and went forth.

On going forth he shunned the doing of evil deeds; ill conduct in speech he renounced, and gained a pure livelihood.

To Rājagaha the Buddha went, to Giribbaja of the Magadhas; he endowed with excellent marks went gathering alms.

Bimbisāra standing on his palace beheld him, and seeing him endowed with the marks uttered these words:

"Observe him, sirs. Fair is he, tall and pure; endowed truly with good conduct he looks the length of a yoke before him.

"With eyes downcast, meditative, not like one of low birth is he ; let the king's messengers hasten to see where the monk will go."

The messengers were sent and followed in his tracks to see where the monk would go, and where his abode would be.

Going from house to house, guarding his senses, restrained, quickly he filled his bowl, alert and mindful.

When he had finished collecting his alms, the recluse left the city and made his way to the Paṇḍava hill : "here will be his abode."

Then when he had reached his dwelling, the messengers drew near ; one messenger returned and informed the king.

"This monk, O king, is seated on the eastern side of Paṇḍava, like a royal tiger or lion in a mountain cave."

On hearing the messenger's words the warrior king in a fair chariot hastened and set out for the Paṇḍava mountain.

By the chariot-road the warrior king went, and then alighting from the chariot approached on foot and drew near to him.

The king being seated exchanged pleasant greeting ; then after courteous converse he spoke these words :

"Young and a stripling art thou, a boy in thy first youth, full fair of aspect, like a warrior by birth,

"Who displays his line of battle, with array of elephants in front. I offer thee wealth ; do thou enjoy it, and in reply to me declare thy birth."

"A country is there, O king, close to a slope of the

Himalayas, endowed with wealth and valour ; its people dwell among the Kosalas.

" By clan they are of the race of the sun,[1] and Sakyas are they by birth ; from that family have I gone forth, O king, having no longing for lusts.

" Seeing the wretchedness of lusts, and looking on renunciation as peace, I shall go to the struggle ; therein my mind is glad." [2]

Pabbajjā-s., *Sutta-nipāta*, 405–424.

IV

BUDDHA'S FIRST TEACHERS

After leaving king Bimbisāra Gotama attached himself to two teachers, but failed to win the knowledge that he sought. Then for six years he practised austerities with five disciples. The first of these was Koṇḍañña, who according to one account was one of the brahmins who had prophesied Gotama's buddhahood at his birth. The following account of these events is said to have been given by Buddha after he had settled permanently at Sāvatthī in the twentieth year of his preaching, and when Ānanda had been appointed his permanent attendant.

Thus have I heard : The Lord once dwelt at Sāvatthī

[1] Certain Indian royal families traced back their ancestry to the sun at the beginning of a new creation, others to the moon. Buddha is often referred to as " kinsman of the Sun ". Gotama is his clan-name.

[2] The *Mahāvastu* adds the two following stanzas in a different metre :

" So may it be : do thou attain Nirvāṇa ; and having won enlightenment come back again. Tell me also the Doctrine, which I may hear and reach heaven."

" Surely, O king, shall this be so : I shall win enlightenment, there is no doubt ; and having won enlightenment I will come back again and teach thee the Doctrine, I promise."

in the Jetavana monastery,[1] in the park of Anāthapiṇḍika. Now in the morning the Lord dressed himself, took his bowl and robe, and went into Sāvatthī for alms. Then a large number of monks came to the elder Ānanda, and said to him, " Reverend Ānanda, it is long since we have received a talk on the Doctrine so as to hear it from the Lord face to face. It would be good for us to receive a talk on the Doctrine so as to hear it from the Lord face to face." " Then, reverend ones, go to the hermitage of the brahmin Rammaka, perhaps you will be able to hear one there." " Even so," the monks replied to Ānanda.

Now the Lord, having gone for alms in Sāvatthī, after his meal when he had returned from begging, addressed Ānanda : " Let us go to the mansion of the mother of Migāra[2] in the Eastern Park, to stay in the open air." " Even so, Lord," Ānanda replied to the Lord. So the Lord went with Ānanda and stayed in the open air. In the evening the Lord rising from his meditation said to Ānanda, " Let us go, Ānanda, to the eastern gateway to sprinkle our limbs." " Even so, Lord," Ānanda replied. So the Lord with the elder Ānanda went to the eastern gateway and sprinkled his limbs, and having done so he came out, and stood in one robe drying his limbs.

Then Ānanda said to the Lord, " The hermitage of the brahmin Rammaka, Lord, is not far away ; the

[1] Jetavana means " grove of Jeta ", from the name of the original owner of the land, but when it is used in the Scriptures it always means the monastery built on that ground, which was brought from prince Jeta by the merchant Anāthapiṇḍika of Sāvatthī and presented to the Order.

[2] This was Visākhā, the wealthy lay sister, who built a monastery for the Order in the Eastern Park.

hermitage is pleasant and agreeable. It would be a good thing, Lord, to go to the hermitage out of kindness." The Lord assented by silence. Now at that time there were many monks in the hermitage of the brahmin Rammaka, who had met to talk about the Doctrine, so the Lord stood at the door outside waiting for the end of the talk. Then when the Lord saw that the talk had come to an end, he coughed and then knocked on the bolt, and the monks opened the door for the Lord. Entering the hermitage the Lord sat on the appointed seat.

On sitting down the Lord addressed the monks : "On what had you now met to talk about here, and what was your conversation that was broken off ?" "Lord, it was with reference to the Lord that we were having a talk on the Doctrine, and then the Lord arrived." Good, monks, it is seemly for you well-born youths, who through faith have gone forth from a house to a houseless life to meet and talk about the Doctrine. When you meet, monks, there are two things to be done : either talk about the Doctrine or noble silence.

There are these two searches : the noble search and the ignoble. Now what is the ignoble search ? In this case a person though himself liable to rebirth seeks out what is liable to rebirth, though liable to old age, he seeks out what is liable to old age, though liable to sickness, to death, to grief, to the depravities, he seeks out what is liable to old age, sickness, death, grief, and the depravities. And what do you say is liable to rebirth ? Children and wife are liable to rebirth, male and female slaves, goats, fowls, pigs, elephants, cattle, horses, gold,

and silver are liable to rebirth. These objects of attachment are liable to rebirth. To these objects he is tied, with them he is infatuated, to them he is attached, and though himself liable to rebirth he seeks for what is liable to rebirth. (The same is repeated of these objects as liable to old age, sickness, death, grief, and the depravities.) This, monks, is the ignoble search.

And what, monks, is the noble search ? In this case a person himself liable to rebirth sees the wretchedness of rebirth, and seeks for the unborn, the supreme peace, Nirvāṇa. Being himself liable to old age . . . he seeks for the supreme peace, Nirvāṇa. This, monks, is the noble search.

I myself, monks, before my enlightenment, while unenlightened and yet a bodhisatta,[1] being myself liable to rebirth, sought out what was liable to rebirth . . . to old age, sickness, death, grief, and the depravities. Then, monks, this occurred to me : why should I, who am liable to rebirth, seek out what is liable to rebirth ? Why should I, who am liable to old age . . . seek out these things ? What if I, being liable to rebirth, and seeing the wretchedness of what is liable to rebirth, were to seek for the unborn, the supreme peace of Nirvāṇa ? (Repeated for the other qualities.)

Now at another time, monks, while yet a boy, a black-haired boy in the prime of youth, in the first stage of life, while my unwilling mother and father wept with tear-stained faces, I cut off my hair and beard, and putting on yellow robes went forth from a house to a

[1] In Sanskrit *bodhisattva*, "being of enlightenment," the usual name for one who is striving for the enlightenment (*bodhi*) of a Buddha.

houseless life.[1] Thus having gone forth from the world I strove after the good and, seeking for the supreme state of peace, I went to Ālāra Kālāma, and having approached him said, "I wish, friend Kālāma, to practise the religious life in this doctrine and discipline."

Thereupon, monks, Ālāra Kālāma said to me, "Abide, friend, such is this doctrine that an intelligent man in no long time might of himself comprehend, and attain my teaching and abide in it." In no long time and quickly did I master that doctrine. So to this extent merely by moving the lips and repeating what had been recited, I and others made the profession, "I declare the utterance of knowledge, the utterance of firmly accepting it[2] I know and perceive." Then I thought, "It is not merely by faith that Ālāra proclaims his doctrine (saying) that of himself he has comprehended it, realized, attained it, and abides in it. Verily Ālāra abides knowing and perceiving this doctrine." So I approached Ālāra and said to him, "Friend Kālāma, what is the extent of this doctrine, which you proclaim as having yourself comprehended, realized, and attained?" Thereupon Ālāra proclaimed the Attainment of the state of Nothingness.[3] Then I thought,

[1] The corresponding passage in *Mahāvastu*, ii, 117, reads: "While my unwilling mother and father (stood) with tear-stained necks and weeping faces, I abandoned a good dwelling, a universal kingship intended for me, and went forth from a house to a houseless life. Again I went on to the city of Vesālī and having arrived I dwelt there."

[2] This is how the commentary takes it (*thirabhāvavāda*); grammatically it may mean "the utterance of the elder".

[3] This in Buddhist doctrine is the sixth stage of release or the third Attainment; the state taught by Uddaka is the seventh release or the

"It is not merely Ālāra who has faith, I too have faith. *It is not merely Ālāra who has energy*, I too have energy. It is not merely Ālāra who has mindfulness, I too have mindfulness. It is not merely Ālāra who has concentration, I too have concentration. It is not merely Ālāra who has wisdom, I too have wisdom. What if I strive to realize that doctrine of which Ālāra proclaims that of himself he has comprehended, realized, attained it, and abides in it." Then in no long time of myself I quickly comprehended, realized, and attained the doctrine, and abode in it.

So I approached Ālāra, and said to him, "Is that the extent, friend, of the doctrine which of yourself you have comprehended, realized, and attained, and which you proclaim?" "That is the extent, friend." "I too, friend, of myself have comprehended, realized, and attained this doctrine, and abide in it." "Gain to us, friend, great gain is it to us, to behold as friend such a fellow student. Thus it is, the doctrine that I of myself have comprehended, realized, attained, and proclaim, that doctrine you of yourself have comprehended, realized, attained, and abide in. . . . Thus, as I am so are you, as you are so am I. Come now, friend, we too will devote ourselves to this company." Thus, monks, Ālāra Kālāma, my teacher set me his pupil as equal to himself, and honoured me with eminent honour. Then, monks, I thought, "This doctrine extending to the Attainment of the state of Nothingness does not conduce

fourth Attainment; see p. 69. Ālāra is once referred to as an adept in Yoga, but nothing more is known about these teachers than is told here.

to aversion, absence of passion, cessation, tranquillity, higher knowledge, Nirvāṇa." So without tending this doctrine I abandoned it in disgust.

Thus, monks, striving after the good, and seeking for the supreme state of peace I went to Uddaka, the son of Rāma, and having approached him said, "I wish, friend, to practise the religious life in this doctrine and discipline." (The same conversation as with Ālāra is repeated, except that the doctrine is that realized by Uddaka's father, Rāma, the attainment of the state of Neither-consciousness-nor-non-consciousness, and Uddaka proposed to set him at the head of his company.) So without tending this doctrine I abandoned it in disgust.

Thus, monks, striving after the good, and seeking for the supreme state of peace, I gradually made my way to the Magadhas, and stayed at Uruvelā, the army township. There I saw a delightful spot with a pleasant grove, a river flowing delightfully with clear water and good fords, and a place round about for seeking alms. This surely is a fit place for the striving of a well-born youth intent on striving. Then I sat down there: a fit place is this for striving.

Ariyapariyesana-s., *Majjhima*, i, 160.

V

TEMPTATION BY MĀRA

Māra, a personification of death, is for the Buddhists not merely the god of death but a being who has his recognized

rank as ruler in the lower part of the universe subject to the five senses. Hence he symbolizes attachment to the world of sense. As such he is represented as tempting Buddha at all stages of his career, not to wicked actions but to any form of craving. At the time of the Renunciation his temptation was the promise of universal empire. The following poem is not an account of the assaults of Māra at the Enlightenment, but of a temptation during the six years while the future Buddha was practising austerities at Uruvelā or Uruvilvā. Although Māra is the tempter, he does not entirely correspond to the Christian devil, for as here he recommends good deeds with the due performance of sacrifices, and reliance upon either is, in Buddhist theory, a hindrance to the higher life.[1]

Pleasant were the forests, and the groves were sprouting to the east of Uruvilvā, where the River Nairanjanā flows.

To him intent on striving, ever firmly advancing, valiant in heroism, to attain the calm of peace, came Namuci[2] uttering sweet speech :

" O son of the Sakyas, rise up, why dost thou weary thy body ? Life is better than non-life ; living thou shalt practise what is right ; while alive one does that which when done one grieves not.

" Lean and ill-favoured and wretched art thou ; near to thee is death. Death has a thousand parts ; only one part of thee is life.

" Ever give alms and sacrifice the fire-sacrifice ; that shall be great merit ; what hast thou to do with striving ?

[1] There are two Sanskrit recensions of this poem besides the Pāli version in the *Sutta-nipāta*, and as the latter was given in the author's *Life of Buddha* the version in the *Lalita-vistara* is given here.

[2] The name of a Vedic demon is here applied to Māra.

" Hard is the path of striving, hard to perform, and hard to attain." This speech did Māra address to the Bodhisattva.

As Māra thus spoke, the Bodhisattva thereupon addressed him : " Friend of the slothful, evil one, for thine own sake hast thou come hither.

" No need for even the least work of merit, Māra, is found in me ; but them that have need of merit do thou deign to address.

" I reck not of death, for life ends in death ; I shall not turn back, intent on the religious life.

" For even the streams of rivers the wind may dry up ; and why should it not dry up the body and blood of those that are intent ?

" But when the blood dries up, then the flesh will dry up ; when the flesh wastes away, still more does the mind become tranquil ; and still more do will, energy, and concentration stand firm.

" While I live thus, when I have attained the last sensation, my mind looks not to lust. Behold the purity of a being.

" Will, energy, and likewise wisdom are found in me. I do not behold in the world him who could shake me from my energy.

" Better is death that takes away life ; shame on village lusts and not on life. Death in battle is better than to live defeated.

" The coward overcomes not the army ; he that overcomes regards it not, but the hero defeats the army. Fleet Māra, I overcome thee.

" Lusts are thy first army and thy second is Aversion ;

thy third is Hunger-and-thirst ; Craving is thy fourth army.

"Thy fifth is Sloth-and-indolence ; Fear the sixth is called ; thy seventh is Doubt, Anger-and-hypocrisy the eighth,

"Gain, Fame, Honour, and Glory falsely attained, the Lauding of oneself and the contemning of others.

"This is the army of Namuci, the kinsman of the Black One, the majestic ; plunged in battle are seen those ascetics and brahmins.

"That army of thine, which assails this world with its gods and men, I will crush with my wisdom, as an unbaked earthen bowl with water.

"Having well set up mindfulness, and having well practised wisdom, fully conscious I will wander ; what wilt thou do, evil-minded one ?"

Lalita-vistara, 327 (261).

VI

AUSTERITIES AND ENLIGHTENMENT

It was to Uruvelā (Uruvilvā), some fifty miles south of Patna, that Gotama retired after leaving his two teachers. There for six years he practised austerities, but then renounced them, and finally won enlightenment. The canonical accounts of the Enlightenment never mention the terrific attacks of Māra, which were meant to dislodge Gotama after he had taken his seat under the tree, determined not to rise until his aim was won. That story is a mythological legend, which adds nothing to Buddhist doctrine. The following discourse was addressed to a Jain inquirer, who came to ask about the true training of the mind and body.

Since the time, Aggivessana, when I removed my hair and beard, put on yellow robes, and went forth from a house to a houseless life, there has been no occasion when a pleasant feeling or a painful feeling could overpower my mind. (Buddha then describes his leaving home in the same words as above, p. 12, and goes on to describe the austerities which he practised after leaving Ālāra and Uddaka.)

Then, Aggivessana, I thought, what if I now set my teeth, press my tongue to my palate, and restrain, crush, and burn out my mind with my mind . . . and as I did so sweat flowed from my armpits. Just as if a strong man were to seize a weaker man by the head or shoulder . . . so did I set my teeth . . . I undertook resolute effort, unconfused mindfulness was set up, but my body was unquiet and uncalmed, even through the painful striving that overwhelmed me as I strove. Even so, such painful feeling as arose did not overpower my mind.

Then I thought, what if I now practise trance without breathing. So I restrained breathing in and out from mouth and nose. And as I did so, there was a violent sound of winds issuing from my ears. Just as there is a violent sound from the blowing of a blacksmith's bellows, even so there was a violent sound. . . .

Then I thought, what if I now still practise trance without breathing. So I restrained breathing in and out from mouth, nose, and ears. And as I did so, violent winds disturbed my head. Just as if a strong man were to crush one's head with the sharp point of a sword, even so did violent winds disturb my head.

(He still practises holding his breath, and the pains are as if a strap were being twisted round his head, as if a butcher were cutting his head with a sharp knife, and as if two strong men were holding a weaker one over a fire of coals.) Even so, such painful feeling as arose did not overpower my mind. Then some divinities seeing me said, "The ascetic Gotama is dead." Some divinities said, "Not dead is the ascetic Gotama, but he is dying." Some said, "Not dead is the ascetic Gotama nor dying. The ascetic Gotama is an arahat; such is the behaviour of an arahat."

Then I thought, what if I refrain altogether from food. So divinities approached me and said, "Sir, do not refrain altogether from food. If you do so, we will feed you with divine food through the pores of your hair, and with this keep you alive." Then I thought that if I were to undertake to refrain altogether from eating, and these divinities were to feed me with divine food through the pores of my hair, this would be acting falsely on my part. So I refused, saying, "No more of this."

Then I thought, what if I were to take food only in small amounts, as much as my hollowed palm would hold, juice of beans, vetches, chick-peas, or pulse. . . . So my body became extremely lean. Like plants with black joints became all my limbs through the little food. The mark of my seat was like a camel's footprint through the little food. The bones of my spine when bent and straightened were like a row of spindles through the little food. As the beams of an old shed stick out, so did my ribs stick out through the little food. And as

in a deep well the deep low-lying sparkling of the water is seen, so in my eye-sockets was seen the deep low-lying sparkling of my eyes through the little food. And as a bitter gourd cut off raw is cracked and withered through wind and sun, so was the skin of my head withered through the little food. When I thought I would touch the skin of my stomach, I actually took hold of my spine ; and when I thought I would touch my spine, I took hold of the skin of my stomach, so much did the skin of my stomach cling to my spine through the little food. When I thought I would ease myself, I thereupon fell prone through the little food. To relieve my body I stroked my limbs with my hand, and as I did so the decayed hairs fell from my body through the little food.

Some human beings seeing me said, " The ascetic Gotama is black." Some said, " Not black is the ascetic Gotama, he is brown." Others said, " Not black is the ascetic Gotama nor brown, his skin is that of a mangura fish," so much had the pure clean colour of my skin been destroyed by the little food.

Then I thought, those ascetics and brahmins in the past, who have suffered sudden, sharp, keen, severe pains, at the most have not suffered more than this. (So of those in the future and present.) But by this severe mortification I do not attain superhuman truly noble knowledge and insight. Perhaps there is another way to enlightenment. Then I thought, now I realize that when my father the Sakyan was working,[1] I was

[1] According to the commentary this was in his infancy, when the king, his father, was performing the ceremonial ploughing. The child

seated under the cool shade of a rose-apple tree, and free from sensual desires, free from evil thoughts, I attained and abode in the first trance of joy and pleasure, which is accompanied with reasoning and investigation and arises from seclusion. (He then attains the second, third, and fourth trances, the knowledge of his former existences, divine vision of the passing away and rebirth of beings, and finally knowledge of the four Truths and the destruction of the āsavas. The wording is almost the same as in the description of the disciple's career given to Ajātasattu ; pp. 63 ff.) Thus, as I knew and perceived, then my mind was released from the āsava of sensual desire, from the āsava of desire for existence, and from the āsava of ignorance.[1] The knowledge arose in (me) released that I was released. I comprehended that rebirth is destroyed, the religious life has been led, done is what was to be done, there is nothing further for this world. This, Aggivessana, was the third knowledge that I gained in the last watch of the night. Ignorance was dispelled, knowledge arose. Darkness was dispelled, light arose, as for one who abides vigilant, strenuous, and resolute. Even so, Aggivessana, such pleasant feeling as arose did not overpower my mind.

Mahāsaccaka-s., *Majjhima*, i, 242.

had been taken and placed on a couch beneath a canopy in the shade of a rose-apple tree. During the ceremony his nurses left him to see the spectacle. He sat up cross-legged and attained the first trance, and the shadows of the other trees moved, but the shadow of the rose-apple tree remained in the same place. The nurses on returning saw the miracle and fetched the king, who did reverence to him.

[1] On the āsavas, see p. 67.

VII

THE DECISION TO PREACH

Buddha after his enlightenment spent four or, according to some accounts, seven weeks near the Tree of Enlightenment, then journeyed to Benares, as here recorded, and converted the five disciples. The following is a continuation of the discourse given above, p. 9. It will be noticed that there is no mention of the first sermon which he is said to have then preached to them. All schools, however, have preserved such a discourse, which is given below.

Then, monks, I thought, "Now I have gained the Doctrine, profound, hard to perceive, hard to know, tranquil, transcendent, beyond the sphere of reasoning, subtle, to be known only by the wise. Mankind is intent on its attachments, and takes delight and pleasure in them. For mankind intent on its attachments it is hard to see this principle, namely conditionedness, origination by way of cause. This principle, too, is hard to see, namely the cessation of all compound things, the renunciation of all clinging to rebirth, the extinction of craving, absence of passion, cessation, Nirvāṇa.

"But if I were to teach the Doctrine, and others did not understand it, it would be a weariness to me, a vexation." Then also there naturally occurred to me these verses unheard before :—

"Through painful striving have I gained it,
Away with now proclaiming it ;
By those beset with lust and hate
Not easily is this Doctrine learnt.
This Doctrine, fine, against the stream,
Subtle, profound, and hard to see,
They will not see it, lust-inflamed,
Beneath the mass of darkness veiled."

Thus, monks, as I reflected, my mind turned to inaction, not to teaching the Doctrine. Then Brahmā Sahampati knowing the deliberation of my mind thought, "Verily the world is being destroyed, verily the world is going to destruction, in that the mind of the Tathāgata, the Arahat, the fully enlightened, turns to inaction and not to teaching the Doctrine." Then Brahmā Sahampati, just as a strong man might stretch out his bent arm, or bend his outstretched arm, so did he disappear from the Brahma-world and appear before me. And arranging his upper robe on one shoulder he bent down his clasped hands to me and said, "May the reverend Lord teach the Doctrine, may the Happy One (*sugata*) teach the Doctrine. There are beings of little impurity that are falling away through not hearing the Doctrine." Thus said Brahmā Sahampati, and having spoken he said further :—

"Among the Magadhas arose in ancient times
Doctrine impure, with many blemishes devised ;
Open for them the door of the immortal,
The Doctrine let them hear proclaimed with pureness.
As one upon a rocky mountain standing
Beholdeth all the people round about him,
Even thus, O thou with wisdom filled, ascending
The palace of the Doctrine, all-beholder,
Look down, thou griefless one, upon the people
Plunged in their griefs, by birth and age o'erpowered.

Rise up, O hero, victor in battle,
O caravan-leader, free from the debt (of birth) go through the world.
May the Lord deign to teach the Doctrine ;
Hearers of it will they become."

Then perceiving Brahmā's request, and on account of my pity for beings, I surveyed the world with my Buddha-vision. I saw beings of little impurity, of much impurity, of keen or dull faculties, of good or bad conditions, easy or hard to teach, and some too I saw who perceived the dangers and faults affecting life in the next world. And just as in the case of blue, red, or white lotuses, some are born in the water, grow in the water, do not rise out of the water, but grow plunged in it, some are born in the water, grow in the water, and remain sprinkled with water, while some are born in the water, grow in the water, but stand out above the water, unstained by the water, even so . . . I saw beings of little impurity, of much impurity, of keen or dull faculties, of good or bad conditions, easy or hard to teach, and some too I saw who perceived the dangers and faults affecting life in the next world. Then I addressed Brahmā Sahampati in a verse :—

"Open to them are the doors of the Immortal,[1] O Brahmā ;
Let them that have ears cast off their (old) belief.
Perceiving the vexation I did not utter
The eminent Doctrine among men, O Brahmā."

Then Brahmā Sahampati thinking, "I have been the occasion of the Lord preaching the Doctrine," saluted me by passing round me to the right and disappeared from there.

Now I thought, "To whom shall I first teach the Doctrine ? Who will learn the Doctrine quickly ?" And I thought, "This Ālāra Kālāma is learned, wise, and intelligent, and for long has been of little impurity ;

[1] This is the immortal, permanent state of Nirvāṇa.

what if I first teach him the Doctrine? He will soon learn it." Then divinities approached me and said, "Lord, Ālāra Kālāma has been dead seven days." And the knowledge and insight arose in me that he had been dead seven days. And I thought, "Of great nobility was Ālāra Kālāma; if he had heard this Doctrine, he would have learnt it quickly." (In the same words we are told that he next thought of Uddaka, the son of Rāma, but he had died the evening before.)

Then I thought, "The five monks did much for me and attended on me when I was intent on striving. What if I first teach the Doctrine to the five monks?" And I thought, "Where are the five monks now dwelling?" And with my divine vision, purified and superhuman, I saw the five monks dwelling at Benares in the Deer Park of Isipatana. So having stayed at Uruvelā as long as I wished, I made my way to Benares.

When, monks, I had set out on the high road between Gayā and the Bodhi-tree, Upaka the ājīvaka ascetic saw me, and said, "Your faculties, friend, are clear, the colour of your skin is pure and clean. Whom do you follow, friend, in leaving the world? Who is your teacher, and whose doctrine do you approve?" At this I addressed Upaka in verses:—

"Victorious over all, omniscient am I,
In all things am I unsullied with defilement;
Leaving all, with craving gone, emancipated,
With higher knowledge self-gained, whom should I follow?

Instructor, teacher, have I none,
One like to me is nowhere found;
In the world with its gods and men
No one is there to rival me.

I am an arahat in the world,
I am a teacher most supreme ;
Alone I am the All-enlightened,
I have won coolness, won Nirvāṇa.

To set going the Wheel of the Doctrine
To Kāsī city[1] now I go ;
And in the blinded world the Drum
Of the Immortal will I beat."

"Then, according to what you profess, friend, you deserve to be an unlimited victor," said Upaka.

"Victors like me are they indeed,
Who have destroyed the āsavas ;
Conquered by me are evil things,
Hence am I a victor, Upaka."

Thereupon Upaka said, "Would that it might be so, friend," shook his head, and went off on a by-path. Then by gradual journeying I came to Benares, to the Deer Park of Isipatana. Now the five monks saw me coming from afar, and on seeing me they decided among themselves, "This, friends, is the ascetic Gotama coming, who lives in abundance, who has given up striving, and has turned to a life of abundance. We must not greet him, nor rise in respect, nor take his bowl and robe, but we must set a seat for him. If he wishes he may sit down." But as I approached, so the five monks were not able to abide by their decision. Some approached and took my bowl and robe, some prepared a seat, and some set water for my feet. They also addressed me by name and by the title "friend".[2] At this I said to

[1] Benares, the capital of the former kingdom of the Kāsīs.

[2] *Āvuso,* lit. "elder" ; the point here is that the word is a term of familiar address between equals ; see p. 176. Tathāgata is the term by which Buddha refers to himself ; see p. 136.

the five monks, "Monks, do not address the Tathāgata by name, nor by the title 'friend'. I am an arahat, monks, a Tathāgata, fully enlightened. Give ear, monks, I have attained the Immortal. I instruct, I teach the Doctrine. If you walk according to the teaching for the sake of which well-born youths rightly go forth from a house to a houseless life, you will, even in this life, learn, realize, and attain the end of the religious life and abide in it." Thereat the five monks said to me, "By that exercise, friend Gotama, by that way and practice of self-mortification you did not attain superhuman truly noble knowledge and insight. Will you, when you now live in abundance, have given up striving, and have turned to a life of abundance, gain superhuman truly noble knowledge and insight?" Thereat I said to the five monks, "Monks, the Tathāgata does not live in abundance, he has not given up striving, and has not turned to a life of abundance. The Tathāgata, monks, is an arahat, fully enlightened. Give ear, monks" (etc. as above, and the monks ask the question a second and a third time). Thereat I said to the five monks, "Do you perceive, monks, that I have never spoken to you thus before now?" "Never thus, Lord." "Give ear, monks, I have attained the Immortal. I instruct, I teach the Doctrine. If you walk according to the teaching for the sake of which well-born youths rightly go forth from a house to a houseless life, you will, even in this life, learn, realize, and attain the end of the religious life, and abide in it."

Then I was able to convince the five brethren. I admonished two of the monks, and three went for alms,

and on what the three got by begging we six lived. Then I admonished three of the monks, and two went for alms, and on what the two got by begging we six lived. So the five monks were thus admonished and instructed by me, and they being themselves liable to rebirth, and seeing the wretchedness of what is liable to rebirth, strove for the unborn, the supreme peace, Nirvāṇa, and attained it. Being themselves liable to old age (sickness, death, grief, the depravities) they strove for that which is free from the depravities, the supreme peace, Nirvāṇa, and attained it. Knowledge and insight arose in them that their release is unshakable, this is the last existence, now there is no rebirth.

Ariyapariyesana-s., *Majjhima*, i, 167.

VIII

THE FIRST SERMON

The *Discourse of setting in motion the Wheel of the Doctrine* or *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta* contains the Four Truths, which have remained fundamental throughout the whole of Buddhism. The career of the disciple is devoted to realizing them, and the Buddhist causal theory (p. 118) is aimed at expounding them.

Thus have I heard: at one time the Lord dwelt at Benares at Isipatana in the Deer Park. There the Lord addressed the five monks:—

"These two extremes, monks, are not to be practised by one who has gone forth from the world. What are the two? That conjoined with the passions and luxury,

low, vulgar, common, ignoble, and useless, and that conjoined with self-torture, painful, ignoble, and useless. Avoiding these two extremes the Tathāgata has gained the enlightenment of the Middle Path, which produces insight and knowledge, and tends to calm, to higher knowledge, enlightenment, Nirvāṇa.

"And what, monks, is the Middle Path, of which the Tathāgata has gained enlightenment, which produces insight and knowledge, and tends to calm, to higher knowledge, enlightenment, Nirvāṇa? This is the noble Eightfold Way, namely right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration. This, monks, is the Middle Path, of which the Tathāgata has gained enlightenment, which produces insight and knowledge, and tends to calm, to higher knowledge, enlightenment, Nirvāṇa.

"(1) Now this, monks, is the noble truth of pain: birth is painful, old age is painful, sickness is painful, death is painful, sorrow, lamentation, dejection, and despair are painful. Contact with unpleasant things is painful, not getting what one wishes is painful. In short the five groups of grasping [1] are painful.

"(2) Now this, monks, is the noble truth of the cause of pain: the craving, which tends to rebirth, combined with pleasure and lust, finding pleasure here and there, namely the craving for passion, the craving for existence, the craving for non-existence.

"(3) Now this, monks, is the noble truth of the

[1] Khandhas, five groups of constituents that make up the individual; see p. 123.

cessation of pain, the cessation without a remainder of craving, the abandonment, forsaking, release, non-attachment.

"(4) Now this, monks, is the noble truth of the way that leads to the cessation of pain: this is the noble Eightfold Way, namely, right views, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration.

"'This is the noble truth of pain': Thus, monks, among doctrines unheard before, in me sight and knowledge arose, wisdom arose, knowledge arose, light arose.

"'This noble truth of pain must be comprehended.' Thus, monks, among doctrines unheard before, in me sight and knowledge arose, wisdom arose, knowledge arose, light arose.

"'It has been comprehended.' Thus, monks among doctrines unheard before, in me sight and knowledge arose, wisdom arose, knowledge arose, light arose. (Repeated for the second truth, with the statement that the cause of pain must be abandoned and has been abandoned, for the third truth that the cessation of pain must be realized and has been realized, and for the fourth that the Way must be practised and has been practised.)

"As long as in these four noble truths my due knowledge and insight with the three sections [1] and twelve divisions was not well purified, even so long, monks, in the world with its gods, Māra, Brahmā, its beings with

[1] These are the three ways in which each truth is treated: (1) The truth of pain, (2) the fact that it must be comprehended, (3) the fact that it has been comprehended, and so on for the other truths.

ascetics, brahmins, gods, and men, I had not attained the highest complete enlightenment. This I recognized.

"And when, monks in these four noble truths my due knowledge and insight with its three sections and twelve divisions was well purified, then monks . . . I had attained the highest complete enlightenment. This I recognized. Knowledge arose in me, insight arose that the release of my mind is unshakable: this is my last existence; now there is no rebirth."

Thus spoke the Lord, and the five monks expressed delight and approval at the Lord's utterance. And while this exposition was being uttered there arose in the elder Koṇḍañña the pure and spotless eye of the Doctrine that whatever was liable to origination was all liable to cessation.

Thus when the Wheel of the Doctrine was set turning by the Lord, the earth-dwelling gods raised a shout: "This supreme Wheel of the Doctrine has been set going by the Lord at Benares at Isipatana in the Deer Park, a Wheel which has not been set going by any ascetic, brahmin, god, Māra, Brahmā, or by anyone in the world." The gods of the heaven of the four Great Kings hearing the shout of the earth-dwelling gods raised a shout. . . . The gods of the heaven of the Thirty-three hearing the shout of the gods of the four Great Kings . . . the Yāma gods . . . the Tusita gods . . . the Nimmānarati gods . . . the Paranimmitavasavattin gods . . . the gods of the Brahma-world raised a shout: "This supreme Wheel of the Doctrine has been set going by the Lord at Benares at Isipatana in the Deer Park, a Wheel which

has not been set going by any ascetic, brahmin, god, Māra, Brahmā, or by anyone in the world."

Thus at that very time, at that moment, at that second, a shout went up as far as the Brahma-world, and this ten-thousandfold world system shook, shuddered, and trembled, and a boundless great light appeared in the world surpassing the divine majesty of the gods.

So the Lord uttered this fervent utterance : " Verily Koṇḍañña has attained the knowledge ; verily Koṇḍañña has attained the knowledge." Thus Aññāta-Koṇḍañña became the name of the elder Koṇḍañña, " Koṇḍañña who has attained the knowledge."

Saṃyutta, v, 420.

IX

SENDING OUT THE DISCIPLES

While Buddha was at Benares he converted sixty disciples and sent them out to preach. He then returned alone to Uruvelā where he first converted the matted-haired ascetic, Kassapa of Uruvelā with his five hundred disciples, then his brother Kassapa of the river, and finally his other brother Kassapa of Gayā with their disciples, and taking them with him went on to Rājagaha.

The historical significance of the sending of the sixty is that it represents what the ordinary career of the disciples was meant to be. It was a continuous life of wandering and preaching as mendicants, except during the three months of the rains, when journeying was impossible. It is also a sufficient comment on the assertion that early Buddhism was a selfish devotion to one's own salvation.

The Lord said : "I am released, monks, from all ties both divine and human. You also, monks, being released from all ties both divine and human, go journeying for the profit of many, for the happiness of many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, profit, and happiness of gods and men. Let not two of you go one way. Teach the Doctrine, monks, good in the beginning, good in the middle, good in the end, in the spirit and the letter, and proclaim a perfectly complete and pure religious life. There are beings of little impurity that are falling away through not hearing the Doctrine. They will become knowers of the Doctrine. I, monks, am going to the army township at Uruvelā to teach the Doctrine."

Then Māra the wicked approached the Lord, and addressed the Lord in a verse :—

Bound art thou with all ties, both human and divine ;
With great bonds art thou bound ; thou shalt not be free
from me, ascetic.
THE LORD : Freed am I from all ties, both human and divine ;
From great bonds am I freed ; struck down art thou, O Ender.[1]

Saṃyutta, i, 105.

X

PREACHING TO BIMBISĀRA

Buddha on returning from Benares had stayed some time at Uruvelā, where he converted Kassapa, his two brothers, and their disciples, and then went on with all the converts to Rājagaha, in order to keep his promise to preach to the king. On the day after the preaching king Bimbisāra presented to the

[1] *Antaka*, an epithet of Māra as Death.

Order the ground near Rājagha where the Veluvana (bamboo-grove) monastery was built. This and the Jetavana monastery at Sāvatthī (the capital of the adjoining kingdom of the Kosalas) were the two chief monasteries of the earliest time. The events of the remaining forty-five years are mainly undated, though the Pāli commentators have tried to put the events of the first twenty years in a chronological sequence.

The Lord having stayed at Gayāsīsa as long as he wished, journeyed to Rājagaha with a great assembly of monks and with all the disciples who had previously been matted-haired ascetics. So by gradual journeying the Lord reached Rājagaha, and then stayed at Rājagaha in the Laṭṭhivana park near the Supatiṭṭha shrine.

Now the Magadha king Seniya Bimbisāra heard that the ascetic Gotama, descendant of the Sakyas, had gone forth from the world from a Sakya family, and having reached Rājagaha was staying in the Laṭṭhivana park near the Supatiṭṭha shrine, and that a good report was spread abroad about the Lord Gotama, thus : "He is the Lord, the arahat, the all-enlightened, endowed with knowledge and conduct, the Happy One, knower of the world, supreme charioteer of men to be tamed, teacher of gods and men, Buddha, the Lord. He of himself by higher knowledge having comprehended and realized this world with its gods, Māra, Brahmā, its beings with ascetics and brahmins, gods and men, preaches. He teaches the Doctrine good in the beginning, good in the middle, good in the end, in the spirit and the letter, and proclaims a perfectly complete and pure religious life. Good is it to see arahats like that."

So the Magadha king, Seniya Bimbisāra, with a retinue of twelve myriad brahmins and householders of

Magadha came to where the Lord was, and having come saluted the Lord and sat at one side. The brahmins and householders also, some saluted the Lord and sat at one side, some exchanged courteous and pleasant greetings and sat at one side, some approached the Lord, bowed with clasped hands and sat at one side, some made known their name and clan and sat at one side, and some sat at one side in silence.

Then the brahmins and householders of Magadha thought thus: "Does the great ascetic follow the religious life with Kassapa of Uruvelā, or does Kassapa follow the religious life with the great ascetic?" So the Lord knowing the thought in their minds addressed Kassapa in verses:—

What hast thou seen, O dweller in Uruvelā,
Thou known as the lean one, that thou hast put away thy fire?
I ask thee, Kassapa, this question:
How is it thy fire-sacrifice has been put away?
KASSAPA: Of sights and sounds and tastes,
Of pleasures and women do the sacrifices tell:[1]
Perceiving that stain in attachments,
Therefore I took no pleasure in sacrifice and offering.
THE LORD: If therein thy mind took no delight, Kassapa,
Neither in sights nor sounds nor tastes,
Then what in the world of gods and men is it,
O Kassapa, where thy mind now finds delight?
KASSAPA: Having seen the state of peace without attachment,
The state of nothingness, unattached to the world of passion,
Whose nature is not to be made otherwise, not to be changed;
Therefore I took no pleasure in sacrifice and offering.

[1] In brahminism the idea that sacrifices are performed for the sake of obtaining some personal benefit is quite clearly expressed. To the Buddhists they were therefore one manifestation of greed or craving.

Then Kassapa of Uruvelā rose from his seat, arranged his upper robe on one shoulder, bowed his head at the feet of the Lord, and said, "My teacher, Lord, is the Lord, I am his disciple ; my teacher, Lord, is the Lord, I am his disciple." So those twelve myriad brahmins and householders of Magadha thought, "Kassapa of Uruvelā is practising the religious life under the great ascetic."

Then the Lord knowing the thought in their minds gave a graduated discourse, that is to say he preached of alms-giving, morality, heaven, the wretchedness and folly of the passions, the depravities, and the blessing of renunciation. When the Lord saw that their minds were prepared, softened, and free from bias, elated and well-disposed, then he preached the laudable Doctrine of the Buddhas : pain, the cause, the cessation, the Way. And just as a clean cloth free from dirt duly takes the dye, even so in those brahmins and householders of Magadha with Bimbisāra at their head, in that very meeting there arose the pure and unstained eye of the Doctrine that everything that is liable to origination is also liable to cessation. One myriad announced that they had become lay disciples.

Then the Magadha king, Seniya Bimbisāra, perceiving, attaining, and knowing the Doctrine and plunging into it, with his doubts and perplexities gone, confident and dependent on no one else for the Master's teaching, said to the Lord, "Formerly, Lord, when I was a boy, I had five wishes, and they are now fulfilled. I wished, would that I may be consecrated king : this was my first wish, and it is now fulfilled. Would that an arahat,

a perfect Buddha, may come to my kingdom : this was my second wish, and it is now fulfilled. May I do homage to the Lord : this was my third wish, and it is now fulfilled. May the Lord teach me the Doctrine : this was my fourth wish, and it is now fulfilled. May I understand the Doctrine of the Lord : this was my fifth wish, and it is now fulfilled. Formerly, Lord, when I was a boy, I had these five wishes, and they are now fulfilled. Wonderful, Lord, wonderful, Lord, just as if, Lord, one were to set up what had been bent down, or uncover what had been hid, or show the way to one gone astray, or bring an oil-lamp into the dark so that those with eyes might see forms, even so has the Doctrine been preached by the Lord in many ways. I go, Lord, to the Lord as a refuge, I go to the Doctrine, and to the Order of monks. May the Lord receive me as a lay disciple from this day forth while life shall last, who have come for refuge. May the Lord accept a meal from me to-morrow together with the assembly of monks." The Lord accepted by his silence.

Then the King seeing that the Lord had accepted rose from his seat, saluted the Lord by passing round him to the right and went away.

Vinaya, *Mahāvagga*, I, 22.

XI

BUDDHA PROPHESIES HIS DEATH

The last few months of Buddha's life are recorded in the so-called *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, which is not properly speaking

a discourse, but a legend in which a number of separate discourses are recorded. One of these is the discourse to the lay disciples of Pāṭalī (p. 155), the village which later became the city of Pāṭaliputta (the modern Patna) replacing the old capital Rājagaha. It was while Buddha was on his way to the north from Rājagaha that he gave that discourse. He then crossed the Ganges and went on to Vesālī, where he passed the rainy season, and where, before setting out again, he summed up his teaching and prophesied his death within three months. It is here given in two versions, which show the essential identity in the teaching of two different schools.

(*Pāli version*)

"Go, Ānanda, assemble in the meeting-hall all the monks who are dwelling near Vesālī." "Even so, Lord," the elder Ānanda replied, and having assembled in the meeting-hall all the monks who were dwelling near Vesālī he approached the Lord, saluted him, and stood on one side. Standing on one side he said to the Lord, "The assembly of monks is assembled, Lord, now is the time for what seems good to the Lord."

So the Lord went to the meeting-hall and sat on the appointed seat. Thus seated the Lord addressed the monks :—

"Therefore now, monks, those doctrines which have been comprehended and taught by me, you should grasp, follow, practise, and cultivate, in order that this religious life may be permanent and lasting, that it may be of advantage to many, of happiness to many, of compassion to the world, of profit, advantage, and happiness to gods and men. And what are those doctrines comprehended and taught by me which you should learn. . . . ?

"They are namely :—

The four stations of mindfulness.
The four right efforts.
The four bases of psychic power.
The five faculties.
The five powers.
The seven parts of enlightenment.
The Noble Eightfold Way.[1]

"These doctrines, monks, comprehended and taught by me, you should learn, follow, practise, and cultivate, in order that this religious life may be permanent and lasting, that it may be for the profit of many, for the happiness of many, out of compassion to the world, for the good, profit, and happiness of gods and men."

So the Lord addressed the monks :—

"Come now, monks, I address you : transient are compound things, strive with earnestness. In no long time will take place the Tathāgata's attaining of Nirvāṇa. At the end of three months from now the Tathāgata will attain Nirvāṇa."

Thus said the Lord, and having spoken the Happy One, the Master, said further :—

"Ripe is my age, short is my life ;
Leaving you I shall go ; my refuge have I made.
Be vigilant and mindful and virtuous, O monks.
Practising concentration well, preserve (unstained) the mind.
Who in this Doctrine and Discipline vigilantly shall abide,
Abandoning birth and transmigration, he shall make an end of pain."

Then in the morning the Lord dressed himself, took

[1] They are treated in detail below, pp. 82 ff.

his bowl and robe, and went into Vesālī for alms. After having gone for alms in Vesālī, after his meal on returning from begging, he looked at Vesālī with an elephant look,[1] and addressed Ānanda : " This Ānanda, is the Tathāgata's last sight of Vesālī. Come, Ānanda, let us go to Bhaṇḍagāma." " Even so, Lord," the elder Ānanda replied to the Lord.

Mahāparinibbāna-s., *Dīgha*, ii, 119.

(*Sanskrit version*)

" Go, Ānanda, assemble in the meeting-hall all the monks who are dwelling near the Chāpāla shrine." " Even so, Lord," the elder Ānanda replied, and having assembled in the meeting-hall all the monks who were dwelling near the Chāpāla shrine he approached the Lord, saluted him with his head, and stood on one side. Standing on one side he said to the Lord, " All the monks, Lord, who are dwelling near the Chāpāla shrine are assembled and seated in the meeting-hall. Now is the time for what seems good to the Lord."

So the Lord went to the meeting-hall, and sat before the assembly of monks on the appointed seat. Thus seated the Lord addressed the monks :—

" Impermanent, monks, are all compounded things, unstable, untrustworthy, liable to change. Enough of collecting compounds, enough of refraining. Therefore now, monks, after my passing away those things that tend to profit in the present, to happiness in the present, to profit in a future state, to happiness in a future state, should be grasped and embraced by the

[1] i.e. turning round his whole body.

monks, and should be so taught by heart, caused to be recited, and grasped that in this way the religious life may be lasting and widely spread among the multitude, so that it is duly preached to gods and men.

"Now these, monks are the things that tend to profit. . . . (Here follows the same list of doctrines as above.)

"These things, monks, tend to profit in the present, to happiness in the present, to profit in a future state, to happiness in a future state, and being grasped and embraced by the monks should be so taught by heart, caused to be grasped and recited that the religious life may be lasting and widely spread among the multitude so that it is duly preached to gods and men.

"Lead the way, Ānanda, to Kuśigrāmaka." "Even so, Lord," the elder Ānanda replied to the Lord. The Lord passing the Vaiśālī forest so that the whole of the right side of his body was towards it, looked round with an elephant look. So the elder Ānanda said to the Lord, "Not without a cause, not without an occasion, Lord, do Tathāgatas, arhats, perfect Buddhas look on their right with an elephant look. What is the cause, what the occasion, Lord, of the elephant look?" "Even so, Ānanda, even so. Not without a cause, not without an occasion do Tathāgatas, arhats, perfect Buddhas, look round on their right with an elephant look. This, Ānanda, is the Tathāgata's last sight of Vaiśālī. No more, Ānanda, will the Tathāgata come to Vaiśālī. To attain Nirvāṇa he will go to the exercise-ground of the Mallas, to the grove of the twin sāla trees.

Divyāvadāna, 207.

XII

THE LAST DISCIPLE

Buddha after leaving Vesālī arrived at Kusinārā apparently in mid-winter. There the night before his death he was visited by a wandering ascetic Subhadda or Subhadra, whom he converted. Again we have both Pāli and Sanskrit accounts.

(*Pāli version*)

Now the Lord with a great assembly of monks crossed to the farther bank of the river Hiraññavatī and came to Kusinārā, to the sāla grove in the exercise-ground of the Mallas. Having come he thus addressed Ānanda, " Come, Ānanda, prepare for me between the twin sāla trees a bed with its head to the north. I am sick, Ānanda, I shall lie down." " Even so, Lord," the elder Ānanda replied to the Lord, and prepared a bed with its head to the north between the twin sāla trees. Then the Lord lay down on his right side, arranging one foot on the other, mindful and conscious.[1]

Now at that time a wanderer named Subhadda dwelt at Kusinārā. Now the wanderer Subhadda heard that the ascetic Gotama in the last watch of the night would attain Nirvāṇa. So he thought, " I have heard from wanderers, old and advanced in years, teachers of teachers, who said that at some time and in some place Tathāgatas, arahats, perfect Buddhas arise in the world, and to-day in the last watch of the night the ascetic Gotama will attain Nirvāṇa. This matter of doubt has

[1] This paragraph is continuous with the next in the Sanskrit, but the Pāli here inserts accounts of the visits of devotees and several conversations with Ānanda.

occurred to me. I am in such a way well-disposed to the ascetic Gotama that he will be able to teach the Doctrine so that I may be able to dispel this matter of doubt."

So Subhadda the wanderer went to the sāla grove in the exercise-ground of the Mallas, and approached the elder Ānanda. On approaching him he said to Ānanda, "I have heard, sir Ānanda, from wanderers, old and advanced in years, teachers of teachers, who said that at some time and in some place Tathāgatas, arahats, perfect Buddhas arise in the world, and to-day in the last watch of the night the ascetic Gotama will attain Nirvāṇa. This matter of doubt has occurred to me: I am in such a way well-disposed to the ascetic Gotama that he will be able to teach the Doctrine that I may be able to dispel this matter of doubt. May I be granted, sir Ānanda, permission to see the ascetic Gotama." Thereat the elder Ānanda said to Subhadda the wanderer, "Enough, friend Subhadda, trouble not the Tathāgata. The Lord is sick."

(The request and refusal are repeated three times.)

Now the Lord heard this conversation of the elder Ānanda with Subhadda the wanderer. So the Lord addressed Ānanda, "Enough, Ānanda, do not prevent Subhadda. Let Subhadda have permission to see the Tathāgata. Whatever Subhadda would ask me, all that he may ask, if he is intent on knowledge and not on annoyance; and whatever I shall explain, when I am asked about it, that he will soon understand." So Ānanda said to Subhadda, "Go, friend Subhadda, the Lord gives you permission."

Then Subhadda approached the Lord, and having approached he exchanged courteous and pleasant greetings with him and sat on one side. Seated there Subhadda said to the Lord, "Those ascetics and brahmins, sir Gotama, who have assemblies and schools, teachers of schools, well-known and famous heretics and highly honoured by the multitude, such as Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhalin Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambalin, Kakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta, and the Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, have they all attained the higher knowledge of their own profession, or have none of them attained it, or have some attained it and some not?" "Enough, Subhadda, let the question alone whether they have all attained the higher knowledge of their own profession or whether none have attained it or whether some have attained it and some not. I will teach you the Doctrine, Subhadda, listen to it, reflect well upon it, I will speak." "Even so, Lord," Subhadda replied to the Lord.

The Lord said, "In that doctrine and discipline in which the noble Eightfold Way is not found, there no ascetic is found, there no second is found, no third, no fourth ascetic is found. And in that doctrine and discipline in which the noble Eightfold Way is found there an ascetic is found, there a second, third, and fourth ascetic are found.[1] In that doctrine and discipline the noble Eightfold Way is found, just here, Subhadda, there is an ascetic, here a second, here a third, and here a fourth ascetic. Void are other schools of ascetics,

[1] These four are said by the commentator to be disciples in the first, second, third, or fourth stages of the Way; see p. 109.

and should these monks, Subhadda, live rightly, the world would not be void of arahats.

"At nine and twenty years of age, Subhadda,
I left the world, my search for the good pursuing;
Now fifty years and one year more[1] are over,
Since I went forth and left the world, Subhadda,
Within the limits of the true Doctrine abiding;
Outside the range thereof is no ascetic,

there is no second ascetic, no third nor fourth ascetic. Void are other schools of ascetics, and should these monks, Subhadda, live rightly, the world would not be void of arahats."

Thereat Subhadda the wanderer said to the Lord, "Wonderful, Lord, wonderful, Lord! Just as if, Lord, one were to set up what had been bent down, or uncover what had been hid, or show the way to one gone astray, or bring an oil-lamp into the dark so that those with eyes might see forms, even so has the Doctrine been preached by the Lord in many ways. I go, Lord, to the Lord as a refuge, I go to the Doctrine and to the Order of monks. May I receive admission in the presence of the Lord, may I receive ordination."

"One who has formerly been of another school, Subhadda, who desires admission, desires ordination in this Doctrine and Discipline, waits four months. At the end of four months, when the monks have made up their minds, they admit him and ordain him in the state of monk."

"If, Lord, they who have formerly been of another

[1] As Speyer points out *samādhika* means not merely "in addition" but "one year (*samā*) in addition". Buddha died at the age of 80.

school . . . wait four months . . . I will wait four months, and at the end of four months, when the monks have made up their minds, they will admit me and ordain me in the state of monk." So the Lord addressed the elder Ānanda, "Well then, Ānanda, admit Subhadda." "Even so, Lord," Ānanda replied to the Lord. Then Subhadda the wanderer said to Ānanda, "Gain to you is it, friend Ānanda, great gain to you is it, friend Ānanda, in that you have been consecrated here by the Master in his presence with a pupil's consecration." So Subhadda the wanderer received admission in the presence of the Lord, he received ordination.

Mahāparinibbāna-s., Dīgha, ii, 137.

(*Sanskrit version*)

Now the Lord at the time of his attaining Nirvāṇa thus addressed Ānanda :—

"Prepare for the Tathāgata, Ānanda, between the twin sāla trees a bed with its head to the north. In the middle watch of the night the Tathāgata will attain Nirvāṇa with the element of Nirvāṇa that is without a remainder of rebirth." "Even so, Lord," the elder Ānanda replied to the Lord, and having prepared a bed with its head to the north between the twin sāla trees, came to the Lord, made obeisance to the Lord's feet with his head, and stood on one side. Standing there he said to the Lord, "The bed, Lord, between the twin sāla trees with its head to the north is prepared." Then the Lord went to the bed, lay down on his right side, arranging one foot on the other, aware of outer things, mindful and conscious, reflecting on the idea of Nirvāṇa.

Now at that time a wanderer named Subhadra dwelt at Kuśinagarī, old and advanced in years. He was a hundred and twenty years old, and was honoured, reverenced, respected, worshipped, and looked upon by the inhabitants of Kuśinagarī as an arhat. Subhadra the wanderer heard that the ascetic Gautama in the middle watch of the night would attain Nirvāṇa there with the element of Nirvāṇa that is without a remainder of rebirth, and having a doubt about the doctrines he had the hope that the Lord Gautama might be able to dispel his doubt. So he left Kuśinagarī and went to the grove of twin sāla trees.

At that time the elder Ānanda was outside the vihāra walking on the promenade. Subhadra saw the elder Ānanda from a distance and approached him. On approaching him Subhadra exchanged courteous and pleasant greetings with him. Standing on one side Subhadra said to Ānanda, "I have heard, sir Ānanda, that the ascetic Gautama to-day in the middle watch of the night will attain Nirvāṇa with the element of Nirvāṇa that is without a remainder of rebirth. I have a doubt about the doctrines, and I have the hope that the Lord Gautama will be able to dispel my doubt. If, reverend Ānanda, it is not troublesome, we should like to enter and ask about a certain subject, if he would give the opportunity for explaining a question." Ānanda said, "Enough, Subhadra, trouble not the Lord, the body of the Lord is weary, the body of the Happy One is sick." Twice and thrice Subhadra thus spoke to Ānanda, and twice and thrice Ānanda replied, "Enough, Subhadra, trouble not the Tathāgata, the body of the Lord is weary,

the body of the Happy One is sick." And still again Subhadra said to Ānanda, "I have heard, sir Ānanda, from former wanderers, old and advanced in years and great teachers, that at some time and in some place Tathāgatas, arhats, perfect Buddhas arise in the world like a flower on an udumbara fig-tree, and that to-day in the middle watch of the night the Lord Gautama will attain Nirvāṇa with the element of Nirvāṇa that is without an element of rebirth. I have a doubt about the doctrines, and I have the hope that the Lord Gautama will be able to dispel my doubt. If, reverend Ānanda, it is not troublesome, we should like to enter and ask about a certain subject, if he would give the opportunity of explaining a question." And again Ānanda said to Subhadra, "Enough, Subhadra, trouble not the Tathāgata, the body of the Lord is weary, the body of the Happy One is sick."

Then the conversation with the elder Ānanda and Subhadra the wanderer was broken off, and the Lord heard it with his pure divine hearing surpassing human hearing, and he said to Ānanda, "Enough, Ānanda, do not prevent the wanderer Subhadra from entering and asking whatever he wishes. This will be my last conversation with wanderers of other schools, and he will be the last of my immediate disciples to enter the Order with the formula, 'Come, monk,' namely Subhadra the wanderer."

Then Subhadra on receiving the Lord's permission elated, pleased, and delighted, with extreme joy and happiness approached the Lord. Having approached he exchanged courteous and pleasant greetings with

him and sat down. Subhadra said to the Lord, " those heretical schools in the common world, sir Gautama, such as Pūraṇa Kāśyapa, Maskarin Gośāliputra, Sañjaya Vairaṭīputra, Ajita Keśakambala, Kakuda Kātyāyana, and the Nirgrantha Jñātaputra professed to me each his own profession.

(The actual question of Subhadra, which was probably the same as in the Pāli, is missing.)

Then at that time the Lord uttered this verse :—

" At nine and twenty years of age, Subhadra,
I left the world, my search for the good pursuing ;
Now fifty years and one year more are over,
Since I went forth and left the world, Subhadra.
Morality, concentration, have I practised,
And knowledge too with single mind attentive,
Preaching the limits of the noble Doctrine ;
Outside the range thereof is no ascetic.

In whose doctrine and discipline, Subhadra, the noble Eightfold Way is not found, there no first ascetic is found, there no second, no third, no fourth ascetic is found. But in that doctrine and discipline in which the noble Eightfold Way is found, there the first ascetic is found, there the second, third, and fourth ascetic are found. In that doctrine and discipline the noble Eightfold Way is found. Here the first ascetic is found, here the second, here the third, here the fourth. Outside thereof are no ascetics or brahmins. Void are other schools of ascetics or brahmins. Thus here in the congregation I roar the roar of the right assembly."

Now when this discourse on the Doctrine was spoken, the vision of the Doctrine without dust and free from

stain arose in Subhadra the wanderer. So Subhadra seeing and attaining the Doctrine, and plunging into it with his doubts and perplexities gone, independently of others, not led by others, but attaining confidence in the Master's teaching and doctrine, arose from his seat and arranging his upper robe on one shoulder approached Ānanda with folded hands and said to him, "Gain, great gain, reverend Ānanda, is it that Ānanda has been consecrated by the Lord, the great teacher, with the consecration of a pupil. To us also it would be gain, great gain to us to receive in the well-spoken doctrine and discipline admission and ordination, and the state of a monk." So the elder Ānanda said to the Lord, "This Subhadra the wanderer, Lord, desires in the well-spoken doctrine and discipline to receive admission and ordination and the state of a monk." Then the Lord addressed Subhadra the wanderer: "Come, monk, practise the religious life." This was the elder's admission and ordination and state of a monk.

Avadāna-śataka, i, 227.

XIII

LAST UTTERANCE AND DEATH

The following account is not from the great Sutta, but from a shorter *Parinibbāna-sutta*, also found in the Scriptures. The wording is nearly the same, but it omits several incidents and makes only eight, not nine, stages of trance attained by Buddha. These are explained below, p. 69.

At one time the Lord dwelt at Kusinārā in the sāla

grove in the exercise-ground of the Mallas, between the twin sāla trees at the time of attaining Nirvāṇa. Then the Lord addressed the monks : " Come now, monks, I address you : strive with earnestness, transient are compound things." This was the last utterance of the Tathāgata.

Then the Lord attained the first trance. Arising from the first trance he attained the second. Arising from the second he attained the third. Arising from the third he attained the fourth. Arising from the fourth he attained the stage of the infinity of space. Arising from the stage of the infinity of space he attained the stage of the infinity of consciousness. Arising from the stage of the infinity of consciousness he attained the stage of nothingness. Arising from the stage of nothingness he attained the stage of neither perception nor non-perception.

Arising from the stage of neither perception nor non-perception he attained the stage of nothingness. Arising from the stage of nothingness he attained the stage of the infinity of consciousness. Arising from the stage of the infinity of consciousness he attained the stage of the infinity of space. Arising from the stage of the infinity of space he attained the fourth trance. Arising from the fourth trance he attained the third. Arising from the third he attained the second. Arising from the second he attained the first.

Arising from the first trance he attained the second. Arising from the second he attained the third. Arising from the third he attained the fourth. Arising from the fourth the Lord straightway attained Nirvāṇa.

When the Lord attained Nirvāṇa, with the attaining of Nirvāṇa, Brahmā Sahampati spoke this verse :—

"All beings in the universe
Shall lay aside their compound state ;
Even so a teacher such as he,
The man unrivalled in the world,
Tathāgata with the powers endowed,
The Enlightened has Nirvāṇa reached."

When the Lord attained Nirvāṇa, with the attaining of Nirvāṇa, Sakka, king of the gods, spoke this verse :—

"Impermanent, alas ! are compounds
They rise up and they pass away ;
Having arisen then they cease,
And their extinguishing is bliss."

When the Lord attained Nirvāṇa, with the attaining of Nirvāṇa, the elder Ānanda spoke this verse :—

"Then was a terrifying awe,
Then was a horrifying dread,
When he of all the marks possessed,
The Enlightened had Nirvāṇa reached."

When the Lord attained Nirvāṇa, with the attaining of Nirvāṇa, the elder Anuruddha spoke these verses :—

"No breathing in or out was there
Of him with firm-established heart ;
And free from passion winning peace
The seer Nirvāṇa did attain.

Then he with heart released from clinging
Controlled and bore his suffering ;
As the extinction of a flame
Even so was his mind's release."

Saṃyutta, i, 157.

THE DISCIPLE'S CAREER

XIV

THE ASCETIC'S TRAINING

Buddhism is not merely a doctrine or set of doctrines to be believed, but a way of life that aims at achieving a certain end. It is this religious life which gives coherence to the doctrines; and as this Way or Path is set forth and described from different ponts of view, it is possible to present Buddhism with a minimum of modern interpretation. In all the schemes we find a triple division: a preliminary training in morality. then a mental training consisting of practices intended to concentrate the mind and detach it from sensuous things, leading finally to full knowledge of the Truths. This knowledge is called *paññā*. There is no one word to translate this term. It means the essential knowledge required to grasp the fundamental truths of Buddhism, and is here translated "full knowledge". When it is used in a wider sense it has been translated "wisdom".

The following discourse is held to have been given towards the end of Buddha's life, as it was eight years before Buddha's death that Ajātasattu succeeded his father Bimbisāra.

Ajātasattu visits Buddha

Thus have I heard: at one time the Lord dwelt at Rājagaha in the mango-grove of Jīvaka, who had been brought up by the prince, with a great assembly of monks, with twelve hundred and fifty monks. Now at that time the Magadha king Ajātasattu, son of the Videha woman, was keeping the Fast-day on the

fifteenth day of the month Kattika[1] when the moon was full, at the time of the four-monthly sacrifice, surrounded by his royal ministers. He had gone to the top of the palace and was seated there. Then Ajātasattu on that Fast-day uttered this fervent utterance : "Pleasant indeed is the bright night, lovely indeed is the bright night, fair indeed is the bright night, pleasing indeed is the bright night, auspicious indeed is the bright night ; to what ascetic or brahmin may we pay homage to-day, so that having paid homage to him our mind may find satisfaction ?" (He refuses the suggestions of his ministers to visit the six teachers.)

Now at that time Jīvaka, who had been brought up by the prince, was seated silent near the king. So the king said to Jīvaka, "Now, friend Jīvaka, why are you silent ?" "O king, this Lord, this arahat, the perfectly enlightened one, is dwelling in our mango-grove, with a great assembly of monks, with twelve hundred and fifty monks. And of the Lord Gotama the fair fame is spread abroad thus, 'The Lord, the arahat, the all-enlightened, endowed with knowledge and conduct, the Happy One, knower of the world, supreme charioteer of men to be tamed, teacher of gods and men, Buddha, the Lord.' Let the king pay homage to the Lord ; surely if the king pays homage to the Lord his mind will find satisfaction." "Then, friend Jīvaka, make ready the riding elephants." "Even so, O king," Jīvaka replied to king Ajātasattu.

[1] Middle of October to middle of November, in the beautiful weather after the rains. The Fast-day (*uposatha*) was here part of the brahminical ritual before the Soma sacrifice.

Jīvaka made ready as many as five hundred she-elephants and one royal riding elephant, and announced to the king, " O king, the elephants are ready, now is the time for what seems good to you."[1] So the king placing his wives each on an elephant mounted the royal elephant, and with a procession of torches left Rājagaha with a great royal retinue and set out for the mango-grove of Jīvaka. Then when the king drew near to the mango-grove fear arose in him and consternation, and his hair rose. So the king, afraid, agitated, and with his hair rising said to Jīvaka, " Surely, friend Jīvaka, you are not deceiving me, surely you are not deluding me, surely you are not betraying me to an enemy? How now is it that in this assembly of as many as twelve hundred and fifty monks there is not even a sound of sneezing or coughing or a shout?" " Fear not, O king; I am not deceiving or deluding you or betraying you to an enemy. Advance, O king, advance, O king, those are the lights burning in the pavilion."

So the king going on the elephant as far as was possible, then dismounted and went on foot to the door of the pavilion. On arriving he said to Jīvaka, " Where, friend Jīvaka, is the Lord?" " That, O king, is the Lord. That, O king, is the Lord near the middle pillar, seated facing the assembly of monks, who are facing him." So the king approached the Lord and stood on one side. As he stood at one side he looked at the assembly of monks, each of them silent like a pure lake, and uttered

[1] This is literally " of what now you think the time ". It is also usual as a polite form of leave-taking, as when Buddha dismisses the meeting, p. 157.

a fervent utterance: "With this calm might prince Udāyibhadda be endowed, with which the assembly of monks is now endowed." "Have you fared, O king, according to your desire?" "Dear to me, Lord, is prince Udāyibhadda. With this calm might prince Udāyibhadda be endowed, with which the assembly of monks is now endowed."

Ajātasattu's Question

So king Ajātasattu having saluted the Lord, bowed with clasped hands to the assembly, and sat on one side. Sitting on one side the king said to the Lord, "Lord, I should like to ask the Lord about a certain matter, if the Lord gives me the opportunity to have an explanation." "Ask, O king, what you wish."

"Now, just as, Lord, there are these many kinds of crafts, such as elephant-drivers, horse-drivers, charioteers, archers, standard-bearers, camp-officers, camp-caterers, lofty nobles, kings' sons, princes, military scouts (like) great trained elephants, heroes, soldiers in leather, slaves' sons, cooks, barbers, bath-attendants, scullions, garland-makers, washermen, weavers, basket-makers, potters, calculators, accountants, or any other of the many kinds of crafts like these, they in this actual life enjoy the visible fruit of their craft; by means of it they make themselves happy and prosperous, they make their parents, their wives and children, their friends and companions, happy and prosperous; and for ascetics and brahmins they establish the highest kind of sacrifices, which are worthy of heaven, produce happiness, and tend to heaven. Now, Lord, is it possible

to show in this actual life a visible fruit of the life of an ascetic?"

"Do you admit, O king that you have asked this question of other ascetics and brahmins?" (The king admits that he has, and gives an account of the replies of the six rival teachers. Buddha after pointing out two advantages in merely leaving the world, shows the advantages of doing so when there is a Buddha, by describing the Buddhist ascetic's career through his training in morality, concentration, and full knowledge.)

The Disciple's Conversion

"In this case, O king, a Tathāgata arises in the world, an arahat, an all-enlightened Buddha, endowed with knowledge and conduct, a Happy One, a knower of the world, a supreme charioteer of men to be tamed, a teacher of gods and men, a Buddha, a Lord. He of himself by higher knowledge having comprehended and realized this world with its gods, Māra, Brahmā, its beings with ascetics and brahmins, gods and men, preaches. He teaches the Doctrine good in the beginning, good in the middle, good in the end, in the spirit and the letter, and proclaims a perfectly complete and pure religious life.

"A householder or a householder's son or someone reborn in a certain family hears that Doctrine. Having heard it he acquires faith in the Tathāgata. Endowed with the faith he has acquired he thus reflects: 'Encumbered is a household life, a place of dust; going forth from home is in the open air. It is not easy for one who dwells in a house to practise a perfectly

complete and pure religious life polished as a pearl. What if I remove my hair and beard, put on yellow robes, and go forth from a house to a houseless life.' Later he gives up his small or great wealth, gives up a small or large circle of relatives, and removing his hair and beard puts on yellow robes, and goes forth from a house to a houseless life.

Morality

"Having thus gone forth he dwells restrained with the restraint of the precepts,[1] accomplished in the practice of right behaviour, seeing the danger of even minute faults, he adopts the rules of training and becomes trained in them, exercising good action in body and speech, getting a livelihood by pure means, (1) being accomplished in morality, (2) having the door of his senses guarded, (3) being endowed with mindfulness and self-possession, and (4) being content.

(1) *The Moral Rules*

"And how, O king, is a monk accomplished in morality?

"Herein a monk abandons the killing of living things and refrains from killing; laying aside the use of a stick or a knife he dwells modest, full of kindliness, and compassionate for the welfare of all living things. This is his behaviour in morality.

"Abandoning the taking of what is not given he refrains

[1] *Pātimokkha*, the rules binding on a monk, now forming the basis of the *Vinaya*, the Book of Discipline. The most important of them appear in this list.

from taking what is not given; he takes and expects only what is given, he dwells purely and without stealing.

"Abandoning incontinence he practises continence and lives apart, avoiding the village practice of sex intercourse.

"Abandoning falsehood he refrains from falsehood; he speaks truth, he is truthful, trustworthy, and reliable, not deceiving people.

"Abandoning slanderous speech he refrains from slanderous speech; what he has heard from one place he does not tell in another to cause dissension. He is even a healer of dissensions and a producer of union, delighting and rejoicing in concord, eager for concord, and an utterer of speech that produces concord.

"Abandoning harsh speech he refrains from harsh speech; the speech that is harmless, pleasant to the ear, kind, reaching the heart, urbane, amiable, and attractive to the multitude, that kind of speech does he utter.

"Abandoning frivolous speech he refrains from frivolous speech; he speaks of the good, the real, the profitable, of the doctrine and the discipline; he is an utterer of speech worth hoarding, with timely reasons and purpose and meaning.

"He refrains from injuring seeds and plants.

"He eats only within one meal time,[1] abstaining from food at night and avoiding untimely food.

[1] Not "once a day", but within one eating period, i.e. up to noon; as Buddhaghosa says, even if he ate ten times within that period he would be *ekabhattiko*.

"He refrains from seeing dancing, singing, music, and shows.

"He refrains from the use of garlands, scents, unguents, and objects of adornment; from a high or large bed; from accepting gold and silver; from accepting raw grain and raw meat.

"He refrains from accepting women, girls, male and female slaves, goats and rams, fowls and pigs, elephants, oxen, horses, mares, and farm-lands.

"He refrains from going on messages and errands; from buying and selling; from cheating in weighing, false metal, and measuring; from practices of cheating, trickery, deception, and fraud [1]; from cutting, killing, binding, robbery, pillage, and violence. . . .[2]

(2) *Guarding of the Senses*

"And how, O king, does the monk have the door of his senses guarded? In this case a monk, when with his eyes he sees objects, does not occupy himself with their characteristics or minor features. Whatever bad

[1] Buddhaghosa illustrates the meaning of trickery by a story: A hunter had caught a deer and a fawn. He met a rogue, who said, "How much for the deer and how much for the fawn?" "Two guineas for the deer and one for the fawn," he replied. The rogue gave him one guinea and took the fawn, but after going a little way turned round and said, "The fawn is no good to me, give me the deer." "Very well, give me two guineas." The rogue said, "Well, sir, didn't I give you one guinea at first?" "Yes, you did." "Then take the fawn; you have one guinea, and the fawn is worth one; that makes two guineas." So the man, thinking that what the rogue said was sound, took the fawn and gave him the deer.

[2] Two further sections follow here, which do not give moral rules, but lists of base practices which the monk avoids—games and amusements, base livelihoods, like fortune-telling and astrology.

or evil thoughts might flow into him on account of his not being restrained in the use of the organ of sight, towards all that he exercises restraint, he guards his organ of sight, and applies restraint. When with his sense of hearing . . . smelling . . . taste . . . touch . . . when with his mind he perceives internal impressions, he does not occupy himself with their characteristics or minor features. . . . Endowed with this noble restraint of the senses he experiences internally unimpaired happiness. Thus, O king, a monk has the door of his senses guarded.

(3) *Mindfulness and Self-possession*

"And how, O king, is a monk endowed with mindfulness and self-possession? In this case a monk is self-possessed in advancing or withdrawing, in looking forward or looking round, in bending, or stretching his limbs, in wearing his inner and outer robes and bowl, in eating, drinking, masticating, and tasting, in answering the calls of nature, in walking, standing, sitting, sleeping, waking, speaking, and keeping silence. Thus, O king, is a monk endowed with mindfulness and self-possession.

(4) *Acquiring Contentment*

"And how, O king, is a monk content? In this case a monk is content with a robe to protect his body and alms to keep him alive. Wherever he goes he takes them with him. . . . Thus, O king, is a monk content.

Getting rid of the Five Hindrances

"Endowed with this noble group of moral rules, with

this noble restraint of the senses, with this noble mindfulness and self-possession, and with this noble contentment he resorts to a secluded lodging, a forest, the root of a tree, a hill, a grotto, a mountain cave, a cemetery, a jungle, or a heap of straw in the open air. After his meal when he has returned from collecting alms he sits down cross-legged and upright, setting mindfulness before him.

"(1) Dispelling longing for the world he abides with his mind free from longing, and purifies his mind from longing.

"(2) Dispelling malice he abides with his mind free from malice, having compassion for all living things, and purifies his mind from malice.

"(3) Dispelling sloth and torpor he dwells free from sloth and torpor, with clear sight, mindful and self-possessed, and purifies his mind from sloth and torpor.

"(4) Dispelling distraction and agitation he dwells without excitement, with mind internally calmed, and purifies his mind from distraction and agitation.

"(5) Dispelling doubt he dwells free from doubt, without uncertainty about good thoughts, and purifies his mind from doubt. . . .

"Thus, O king, like one getting rid of a debt, sickness, prison, slavery, or a path in a wilderness, a monk gets rid of these five hindrances and contemplates himself. . . .

Concentration: The Four Trances

"(1) When these five hindrances are dispelled and he contemplates himself, exultation arises, as he exults joy arises, as his mind feels joy his body becomes serene,

as his body becomes serene he feels pleasure, when he feels pleasure his mind is concentrated. Free from sensual desires, free from evil thoughts he attains and abides in the first trance of joy and pleasure, which is accompanied with reasoning and investigation and arises from seclusion. He suffuses, pervades, fills, and permeates his body with the pleasure and joy arising from seclusion, and there is nothing at all in his body untouched by the pleasure and joy arising from seclusion.

"(2) Again the monk with the ceasing of reasoning and investigation, in a state of internal serenity, with his mind fixed on one point, attains and abides in the second trance of joy and pleasure arising from concentration, and free from reasoning and investigation. He suffuses, pervades, fills, and permeates his body with the pleasure and joy arising from concentration, and there is nothing at all in his body untouched by the pleasure and joy arising from concentration.

"(3) Again the monk with indifference towards joy abides with equanimity, mindful and self-possessed, and with his body experiences the pleasure that the noble ones call, 'dwelling with equanimity, mindful, and happy,' and attains and abides in the third trance. He suffuses, pervades, fills, and permeates his body with pleasure without joy, and there is nothing at all in his body untouched by this pleasure without joy.

"(4) Again the monk, with the dispelling of pleasure and pain, and even before the disappearance of elation and depression attains and abides in the fourth trance which is without pain and pleasure and with the purity

of equanimity and mindfulness. He sits permeating his body with mind purified and cleansed, and there is nothing at all in his body untouched by his mind purified and cleansed.

Full Knowledge: Meditation on the Body

"With his mind thus concentrated, purified, and cleansed, without lust, free from the depravities, supple, ready to act, firm, and impassible, he turns and directs his mind to knowledge and insight. He thus understands: 'This is my body, having shape, formed of the four elements, produced by a mother and father, a collection of milk and gruel, subject to rubbing, pounding, breaking, and dissolution; and this is my consciousness, on this (body) it rests, to this it is bound. . . .'

"With his mind thus concentrated . . . he turns and directs his mind to the production of a mind-formed body; with his (material) body he produces another body, having shape, mind-formed, possessing all its limbs and not lacking any faculty.

The Four Psychic Powers

"With his mind thus concentrated . . . he turns and directs his mind to different kinds of psychic power.[1] . . .

The Divine Ear

"With his mind thus concentrated . . . he turns and directs his mind to divine hearing. With purified divine hearing, far surpassing human hearing, he hears

[1] The psychic powers as given below, p. 86.

the two kinds of sounds, the divine and the human, and both distant and near..

Mind-reading

"With his mind thus concentrated . . . he turns and directs his mind to acquiring a knowledge of minds. By grasping the minds of other beings and individuals he understands that of a mind affected by passion that it is affected by passion, of one free from passion that it is free from passion.[1] . . .

Knowledge of Former Existences

"With his mind thus concentrated . . . he turns and directs his mind to the knowledge of his former existences. He remembers various kinds of his former existence, such as one birth, two, three, four, five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, a hundred, a thousand, a hundred thousand births, many cycles of evolution of the universe, of dissolution, and of evolution and dissolution. 'In that one I had such a name, clan, caste, such sustenance, experiencing such pleasure and pain, and having such an end of life. Passing away thence I was reborn in such a place. There too I had such a name, clan . . . and such an end of life. Passing away thence I was reborn here.' Thus he remembers various kinds of his former existence with their modes and details.

Divine Vision

"With his mind thus concentrated . . . he turns and directs his mind to the passing away and rebirth of

[1] Fourteen other states of mind are mentioned; they are given below, p. 75.

beings. With his divine vision, purified and superhuman, he sees beings passing away and being reborn again, low and high, of good and bad colour, in happy or miserable existences, according to their karma. He understands that those beings who are given to evil conduct in deed, word, and thought, who are revilers of the noble ones, who are of false views, who acquire the karma of their false views, at the dissolution of the body after death have been reborn in a miserable existence in hell. But those beings who are given to good conduct in deed, word, and thought, who are not revilers of the noble ones, who are of right views, who acquire the karma of their right views, at the dissolution of the body after death have been reborn in a happy existence in the world of heaven. . . .

Knowledge of the Truths and Destruction of the Āsavas [1]

"With his mind thus concentrated, purified, and cleansed, without lust, free from the depravities, subtle, ready to act, firm, and impassible, he turns and directs his mind to the knowledge of the destruction of the āsavas. He duly understands, 'this is pain'; he duly understands, 'this is the cause of pain'; he duly understands, 'this is the cessation of pain'; he duly understands, 'this is the path that leads to the cessation

[1] The āsavas are the three fundamental tendencies of the individual, sensual desire, desire for existence, and ignorance; the term literally means "flowing in", but the commentators appear to take it in the sense of a discharge flowing out. It was already a Jain term, and the Scriptures always use it in this figurative sense of the three tendencies, three expressions of desire or craving.

of pain'; he duly understands, 'these are the āsavas'; he duly understands, 'this is the cause of the āsavas'; he duly understands, 'this is the path that leads to the destruction of the āsavas.' As he thus knows and thus perceives, his mind is released from the āsava of sensual desire, from the āsava of desire for existence, from the āsava of ignorance. In the released is the knowledge of his release: ignorance is destroyed, the religious life has been led, done is what was to be done, there is nothing further for this world."

Ajātasattu's Repentance

At these words king Ajātasattu said to the Lord: "Wonderful, Lord, wonderful, Lord. Just as if, Lord, one were to set up what had been bent down or uncover what had been hid, or show the way to one gone astray, or bring an oil-lamp into the dark so that those with eyes might see forms, even so has the Doctrine been explained by the Lord in many ways. I go, Lord, to the Lord as a refuge, I go to the Doctrine and to the Assembly of monks. May the Lord receive me as a layman from this day forth while life lasts, who have gone for refuge. My misdeed overcame me, who was so foolish, so infatuated, so wicked, that for the sake of lordship I deprived my righteous father, the righteous king, of life. Lord, may the Lord accept (the confession of) my misdeed as misdeed for restraint in the future."

"Verily, O king, your misdeed overcame you, who were so foolish, so infatuated, so wicked that you deprived your righteous father, the righteous king, of life. And in that you, O king, seeing the misdeed as

misdeed, make amends according as is right, that do we accept of you. For it is increase, O king, in the discipline of the noble disciple, who seeing his misdeed as misdeed makes amends according as is right and exercises restraint in the future." [1]

At these words the Magadha king Ajātasattu, son of the Videha woman, said, " Well now, Lord, we go ; we have much to do and many duties." " As it seems good to you, O king." So the king having expressed delight and approval rose from his seat, saluted the Lord, and passing round him to the right went away.

Then the Lord, soon after the king had gone, addressed the monks : " Uprooted, monks, is the king, damaged, monks, is the king. If, monks, the king had not deprived his righteous father, the righteous king, of life, in this very session the pure and spotless eye of the Doctrine would have arisen." Thus spoke the Lord, and the monks expressed delight and approval of the Lord's utterance.

Sāmaññaphala-s., *Dīgha*, i, 47.

XV

THE ATTAINMENTS OF THE FORMLESS WORLD

The so-called four trances as described above (p. 63 f.) are stages of concentration of mind resulting in more and more detachment from external impressions. A longer list is also

[1] This has been understood as if Buddha in accepting the king's repentance were absolving him from his sin and its consequences, but there is nothing of that in Buddhism. His karma still had to take effect, and Buddha goes on to show how it had already begun. Parricide is one of the five sins that bring their penalty in the present life.

found, as in the above account of Buddha's death, p. 52, in which these four are followed by four or sometimes five others. The whole series taken together form the eight (or nine) attainments. The monk in the four trances having got rid of the perception of forms or visible objects contemplates space as empty and infinite. This is still an external impression, and he rises above it to contemplate consciousness as infinite or free from limits. In the following stages he goes still higher until consciousness (or the consciousness of anything external) disappears. The whole series of stages corresponds to stages of existence in the universe, those from the fifth to the ninth corresponding to stages in the formless world above the form-world of Brahmā.

Passing entirely beyond perceptions of forms, with the disappearance of the perceptions of resistance, and not attending to perceptions of size, he perceives, "space is infinite," and attains and abides in the stage of the infinity of space.

Passing entirely beyond the stage of the infinity of space, he perceives, "consciousness is infinite," and attains and abides in the stage of the infinity of consciousness.

Passing entirely beyond the stage of the infinity of consciousness, he perceives, "there is nothing," and attains and abides in the stage of nothingness.

Passing entirely beyond the stage of nothingness, he attains and abides in the stage of neither consciousness nor non-consciousness.

Passing entirely beyond the stage of neither consciousness nor non-consciousness, he attains and abides in the stage of the cessation of perception and sensation.

Anguttara, iv, 410.

XVI

NOBLE AND IGNOBLE PSYCHIC POWER

The practice of meditation is held by mystics of very different schools to result in the acquirement of certain supernormal psychic states. They accompany the methods of concentration, but the true mystic never looks upon them as the goal at which he aims. Buddhism made the same distinction, and admitted that non-Buddhists could acquire certain of them. But, as it is said in another discourse, "not for the sake of realizing such practices of concentration do monks follow the religious life with me. There are other things higher and more excellent, for the sake of which monks follow the religious life with me." The following is from a discourse in which the chief disciple Sāriputta is explaining the reasons for his faith in the Buddha.

Further, Lord, this is a supreme thing how the Lord teaches the Doctrine concerning modes of psychic power. There are two kinds of psychic power: There is the psychic power which is combined with the āsavas and a substrate of rebirth (*upadhi*),[1] and is called ignoble. . . . In this case some ascetic or brahmin through zeal, effort, application, vigilance, and right reflection attains to such concentration of mind that with concentrated mind he experiences various kinds of psychic power. . . . (These are stated to be the multiplication of himself, etc., as described, p. 86.) This, Lord, is the psychic power combined with the āsavas and a substrate of rebirth, and is called ignoble.

[1] i.e. practised while the disciple is still swayed by impulses that bind him to worldly pursuits and pleasures.

And what, Lord, is the psychic power that is free from the āsavas and a substrate of rebirth, which is called noble? In this case, if a monk wishes to stay not perceiving what is disagreeable amid what is disagreeable, then he stays not perceiving it. If he wishes to stay perceiving what is disagreeable amid what is not disagreeable, then he stays perceiving what is disagreeable.[1] If he wishes to stay not perceiving the disagreeable amid what is disagreeable and not disagreeable, then he stays not perceiving what is disagreeable. If he wishes to stay perceiving what is disagreeable amid what is disagreeable and not disagreeable, then he stays perceiving what is disagreeable. If he wishes to avoid both what is disagreeable and not disagreeable and stay with equanimity, mindful and self-possessed, then he stays with equanimity, mindful and self-possessed. This, Lord, is the psychic power which is free from the āsavas and a substrate of rebirth, and it is called noble.

This, Lord, is what is supreme among modes of psychic power. This the Lord comprehends completely. For the Lord who comprehends this completely there is nothing further to be comprehended so that any other ascetic or brahmin who comprehends would be a better comprehender than the Lord, namely as regards modes of psychic power.

Sampasādaniya-s., *Dīgha*, iii, 112.

[1] In the former case he might by means of the Brahma-vihāras (p. 80) infuse a hostile person with friendliness; in the latter on seeing a lovely form he might bring to mind all the stages of corruption through which it will pass when it decays. In every case he is able to control his own attitude of mind towards the objects.

XVII

THE FOUR STATIONS OF MINDFULNESS

One of the most important schemes of training, parallel to that which describes the four trances (p. 58 ff.), is that of the four Stations of Mindfulness. It is described as a complete method for attaining Nirvāṇa but, as shown below, it became embodied in the still more elaborate scheme of the thirty-seven qualities constituting enlightenment. The following is the longest and most detailed discourse on the subject. It also occurs as one of the parts of the Noble Eightfold Path, p. 95.

This is the road with one goal for the purification of beings, for passing beyond grief and lamentation, for the ending of pain and misery, for the attaining of truth, for the realizing of Nirvāṇa, namely the four Stations of Mindfulness. What are the four ?

(1) Herein a monk abides reflecting on the body, zealous, self-possessed and mindful, dispelling longing for the world ;

(2) he abides reflecting on sensations . . .

(3) he abides reflecting on mind . . .

(4) he abides reflecting on thoughts, zealous, self-possessed, and mindful, dispelling longing for the world.

Reflection on the Body

And how does a monk abide reflecting on the body ? Herein a monk having gone to the forest or the root of a tree or an empty place sits down cross-legged and upright, setting mindfulness before him. Mindful he breathes out, mindful he breathes in ; emitting a long breath he understands that he is emitting a long breath,

or drawing a long breath he understands that he is drawing a long breath; emitting a short breath he understands that he is emitting a short breath, or drawing a short breath he understands that he is drawing a short breath. He repeats: "Conscious of my whole body I will breathe out, conscious of my whole body I will breathe in, calming the elements of my body I will breathe out, calming the elements of my body I will breathe in. . . ."

Thus he abides reflecting on the body (1) inwardly, (2) outwardly, (3) inwardly and outwardly, reflecting on it as liable to origination or as liable to decay or as liable to origination and decay. His mindfulness becomes established with the thought that the body exists, so far as required for knowledge and remembrance. He abides independent, and grasps at nothing in the world. Even so a monk abides reflecting on the body.

Again a monk when walking understands, "I walk," or when standing, "I stand," or when sitting, "I am seated," or when lying down, "I am lying down." In whatever way his body is directed he understands it to be such.

Again a monk is self-possessed in advancing or withdrawing, in looking forward or looking round, in bending or stretching his limbs, in wearing his inner and outer robes and bowl, in eating, drinking, masticating, and tasting, in answering the calls of nature, in walking, standing, sitting, sleeping, waking, speaking, and keeping silence. . . . Even so a monk abides reflecting on the body. . . .

(Here follow reflections on the body as composed of

the thirty-two parts, hair, nails, teeth, skin, etc., then on the body as composed of the four elements, and lastly on the several stages of the decay of a corpse.)

Reflection on Sensations

And how does a monk abide reflecting on sensations? Herein a monk feeling a pleasant sensation understands that he is feeling a pleasant sensation. Feeling a painful sensation . . . a neutral sensation . . . a pleasant sensual sensation . . . a pleasant non-sensual sensation . . . a painful sensual sensation . . . a painful non-sensual sensation . . . a neutral sensual or non-sensual sensation, he understands that he is feeling such sensation. . . . His mindfulness becomes established with the thought that there is sensation so far as required for knowledge and remembrance. He abides independent, and grasps at nothing in the world. Even so does a monk abide reflecting on sensations.

Reflection on Mind

And how does a monk abide reflecting on mind? Herein a monk, when his mind is affected by passion, understands that it is affected by passion, when it is free from passion . . . when it is affected by hatred or not, affected by delusion or not, when it is composed or distracted, in the world of form or in the world of passion, in the world of form or beyond, concentrated or not concentrated, released or not released. . . .[1]

Even so does a monk abide reflecting on the mind.

[1] These are also the states of mind which the disciple knows in others by his power of mind-reading; see p. 66.

Reflection on Thoughts

And how does a monk abide reflecting on thoughts? Herein a monk abides reflecting on thoughts as the five hindrances. When an impulse of passion is present in himself he understands that he has an impulse of passion. When no impulse of passion is present in himself he understands that he has no impulse of passion. He understands how there is the arising of an impulse that has not (previously) arisen, how there is the dispelling of an impulse that has arisen, and how there is the non-arising in the future of an impulse that has been dispelled. (In the same way he reflects on the other hindrances: malice, sloth and torpor, distraction and agitation, doubt.)

Again a monk abides reflecting on thoughts as the five groups of grasping (*khandha*). . . . He reflects: the body, its origin, its passing away; sensation . . . perception . . . the mental elements . . . consciousness, its origin, its passing away. . . . Even so does a monk abide reflecting on thoughts as the five groups of grasping.

Again a monk abides reflecting on thoughts as the six inner and outer bases of cognition (*āyatana*). . . . He understands the eye and he understands visible objects; he understands that on account of them both a fetter arises, how there is the arising of a fetter that had not previously arisen, how there is the dispelling of a fetter that has arisen, and how there is the non-arising in the future of a fetter that has been dispelled. (The other bases are reflected on in the same way: the ear

and sounds, the nose and smells, the tongue and tastes, the body and tangibles, the mind and thoughts.)

Again a monk abides reflecting on thoughts as the seven parts of enlightenment. . . .[1] Herein a monk, when mindfulness is present in himself, understands that he has mindfulness in himself; or if it is not present he understands that he does not have it. He understands how there is the arising of mindfulness that has not (previously) arisen, and how there is the practising and perfecting of the mindfulness that has arisen. (The other six parts, investigation of the Doctrine, energy, joy, repose, concentration, and equanimity are reflected on in the same way.)

Again a monk reflects on thoughts as the four Noble Truths. . . . He duly understands, "this is pain"; he duly understands, "this is the cause of pain"; he duly understands, "this is the cessation of pain"; he duly understands, "this is the path leading to the cessation of pain. . . ." Even so a monk abides reflecting on thoughts as the four Noble Truths.

Now whoever should thus practise these four stations of mindfulness for seven years, he may expect one or other of two fruits: either complete knowledge in this present life or, if there is a remainder tending to rebirth, the state of one who does not return to this world; or let alone seven years, he who should thus practise them for six years, five, four, three, two, one—or let alone one year, he who should thus practise them for seven months may expect one or other of two fruits: either complete knowledge in this present life or the state of one who

[1] These seven parts are treated separately below, p. 93.

does not return to this world—or let alone seven months, he who should practise them for six months, five, four, three, two, one, or half a month—or let alone half a month, he who should practise them for seven days may expect one or other of two fruits, either complete knowledge in this present life or, if there is a remainder tending to rebirth, the state of one who does not return to this world.

Satipaṭṭhāna-s., Majjhima, i, 55.

XVIII

THE TRUE ASCETIC : THE BRAHMA-ABODES

In this discourse, which emphasizes the moral foundation of the ascetic life, are found practices of contemplation called Brahma-abodes (*brahma-vihāra*). They do not, like the previous schemes, form a complete method of training, but are a means of developing certain moral characteristics which form an essential part of the disciple's whole training. Meditation on these alone would lead to rebirth in the Brahma-world.

Thus have I heard : At one time the Lord was dwelling among the Angas. Assapura is the name of a township of the Angas. There the Lord addressed the monks. " Monks." " Reverend one," the monks replied to the Lord.

The Lord said : " ' Ascetics,' O monks, people call you, and you, if you are asked who you are, should acknowledge that you are ascetics. As you are thus ascetics and thus profess, this is the way you must train yourselves : ' The proper path of an ascetic is the path

that we profess ; thus will our ascetic life be true and our profession real ; and by doing those things on account of which we enjoy robes, bowl, bed, and medicine,[1] they will be of great fruit and great blessing. And thus our leaving the world will not be barren, but will bring forth fruit and result.'

"And how, monks, does a monk not follow the proper path of an ascetic ? When any monk who is greedy has not put away greed, when one who is maliciously minded has not put away malice, when one who is wrathful . . . ill-tempered . . . hypocritical . . . spiteful . . . . jealous . . . avaricious . . . treacherous . . . deceitful . . . who has bad desires . . . when one who has false views has not put away his false views, that monk, I say, owing to his not having put away those stains and faults and vices of an ascetic that lead to states of misery and existences of suffering, does not follow the proper path of an ascetic. Like a certain deadly weapon, two-edged and whetted, covered and wrapped up in his robe—like that I say is the ordination of that monk.

"I do not speak of the ascetic life of a robe-wearer merely because he wears a robe ; not merely because of a naked ascetic's nakedness, not merely because of dust and dirt, bathing, living at the root of a tree, living in the open air, standing upright, not merely because of the way of taking food, the study of the religious verses (*mantra*), not merely because of the matted hair of the matted-haired ascetic do I speak of his ascetic life. If

[1] These are the four requisites, the three robes being reckoned as one set. A later list makes eight ; three robes, bowl, razor, needle, girdle, and water-strainer.

by merely wearing a robe the greed of the robe-wearer could be put away, his malice, wrath, ill-temper, hypocrisy, spite, jealousy, avarice, treachery, deceit, his bad desires and false views, then his friends and relations would make him wear the robe as soon as he was born, and enjoin the wearing of it on him. 'Come, you lucky one, wear the robe. Merely by wearing it your greed will be put away, your malice . . . your false views.' But because I see some wearing the robe who are greedy, malicious . . . of false views, therefore I do not speak of the ascetic life of a robe-wearer merely because he wears a robe. (The same is repeated for the naked ascetic and the others.)

"And how, monks, does a monk follow the proper path of an ascetic? When any monk who is greedy has put away greed, when one who is maliciously minded has put away malice, when one who is wrathful . . . ill-tempered . . . hypocritical . . . spiteful . . . jealous . . . avaricious . . . treacherous . . . deceitful . . . who has bad desires . . . when one who has false views has put away his false views, that monk I say, owing to his having put away those stains and faults and vices of an ascetic that lead to states of misery and existences of suffering, follows the proper path of an ascetic.

"He reflects on himself as purified from all these bad and evil qualities, he reflects on himself as released. As he reflects on himself thus purified and released, exultation arises, as he exults joy arises, with his mind full of joy his body is calmed; when his body is calmed he feels happiness, and being happy his mind is concentrated. Having his mind accompanied by love he

abides pervading one quarter, likewise the second, the third, the fourth, above, below, around, everywhere, entirely he abides pervading the entire world with his mind accompanied by love, with abundant, great,[1] immeasurable freedom from hatred and malice. Having his mind accompanied by compassion he abides . . . accompanied by sympathy . . . by equanimity, with abundant great immeasurable freedom from hatred and malice.

"Just as if there were a lotus pool of clear, sweet, cool water, limpid, with good steps down to it, of charming aspect ; if a man were to come from the east, overcome and suffering from the heat, exhausted, parched, and thirsty, on coming to the pool he would quench his thirst and relieve his exhaustion from the heat. If he came from the west . . . the north . . . the south . . . from wherever he came he would quench his thirst and relieve his exhaustion from the heat. Even so, if one of a family of the warrior caste has gone forth from a house to a houseless life, and having come to the Doctrine and Discipline taught by the Tathāgata has thus practised love, compassion, sympathy, and equanimity, he acquires inward peace, and with inward peace he has followed the proper path of an ascetic. If one from a brahmin family . . . a trader's family . . . a serf's family, from whatever family he has gone forth from a house to a houseless life . . . he has followed the proper path of an ascetic, thus I say. If from a

[1] *Mahaggatena*, lit. "having become great". According to the commentator on the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta*, it means attaining to the Form-world.

warrior family he has gone forth from a house to a houseless life . . . if from a brahmin family . . . if from a trader's family . . . if from a serf's family, from whatever family he has gone forth, and if with the destruction of the āsavas through higher knowledge he has realized for himself release of heart and release of full knowledge, and abides in it, then with the destruction of the āsavas he is an ascetic."

Cūlassapura-s., *Majjhima*, i, 281.

XIX

THE THIRTY-SEVEN CONSTITUENTS OF ENLIGHTENMENT

The following list of the disciple's practices and qualities acquired by him does not form a unified scheme like the two previous methods. The seven groups of which the items consist at first occur separately, so that it it not surprising to find that the subjects have been in some cases duplicated. It is from the earlier independent treatment of the subjects that the following passages have been chosen. The list came to form a kind of compendium of the Doctrine known as the *Bodhipakkhikadhammā*, "qualities constituting enlightenment," and as it belongs also to Sanskrit schools it must have been drawn up before there were any serious schisms. It is this list which Buddha is said to have given as a summary of the Doctrine, when he addressed the disciples shortly before his death; see p. 40.

The first group is identical with the Four Stations of Mindfulness given above, and is here illustrated from a shorter discourse. The Noble Eightfold Path is itself a summary of the Doctrine, and it has been equated with the triple division into morality, concentration, and full knowledge: right speech, action, and livelihood form morality; right effort, mindfulness,

and concentration are included in concentration ; right view and right resolve constitute full knowledge.

(1) The Four Stations of Mindfulness

At one time the Lord dwelt at Sāvatthī in the Jetavana monastery, in the park of Anāthapiṇḍika. Then a certain monk approached the Lord, saluted him, and sat down at one side. Thus seated the monk said to the Lord, "Well for me would it be, Lord, if the Lord would teach me the Doctrine in brief, so that having heard the Lord's Doctrine I might dwell alone, secluded, vigilant, zealous, resolute-hearted. And thus some ignorant folk may inquire of me when I preach the doctrine, and may think that they ought to follow me. May the Lord teach me the Doctrine in brief, may the Happy One teach me the Doctrine in brief. Surely I might get to understand the meaning of what the Lord has said, surely I might become the heir of what the Lord has said."

"Well now, monk, purify the beginning of good states. And what is the beginning of good states ? Well-purified morality and straight view. Now, monk, when your morality is well purified and your view straight, then supported by morality and established in virtue you may practise the four stations of mindfulness in three ways. What are the four ?

"Herein, monk, as regards your body contemplating body internally you must abide, zealous, self-possessed, and mindful, dispelling longing and dejection towards the world ; or contemplating the body externally you must abide zealous, self-possessed, and mindful,

dispelling longing and dejection towards the world; or contemplating the body both internally and externally you must abide zealous, self-possessed, and mindful.

"As regards feelings, contemplating feelings internally you must abide zealous, self-possessed, and mindful."

(The same formula follows for contemplating feelings externally and both internally and externally, and the whole is repeated for the contemplation of the mind and the contemplation of thoughts or mental states.)

"Now monk, when your morality is purified and your view straight, and you shall practise the four states of mindfulness in these three ways, then the growth in good thoughts that shall come to you, either by night or by day, may be expected to increase not to decrease."

So the monk expressed delight and approval of the Lord's utterance, and rising from his seat saluted the Lord by passing round him to the right, and went away. Then the monk dwelling alone, secluded, vigilant, zealous, resolute-hearted, in no long time attained that purpose for which well-born youths duly leave a house for a houseless life, the supreme end of the religious life, in this actual life himself comprehending it, realizing it, and abiding in it. He comprehended that rebirth is destroyed, the religious life has been lived, done is what was to be done, there is nothing further for this world. And that monk became yet another of the arahats.

Saṃyutta, v, 142.

(2) The Four Right Efforts

The four right efforts: herein a monk without producing bad and evil thoughts that have not arisen

exercises will, puts forth effort, begins to make exertion, applies and exerts his mind ; by dispelling bad and evil thoughts that have arisen he exercises will, puts forth effort, begins to make exertion, applies and exerts his mind ; by producing good thoughts that had not arisen he exercises will, puts forth effort, begins to make exertion, and applies and exerts his mind ; by fixing, freeing from confusion, increasing, enlarging, developing, and filling up good thoughts that have arisen he exercises will, puts forth effort, begins to make exertion, and applies and exerts his mind.

And how does a monk without producing bad and evil thoughts that have not arisen exercise will, put forth effort, begin to make exertion, and apply and exert his mind ?

In this respect what are bad and evil thoughts that have not arisen ? The three roots of badness : greed, hate, delusion, and the depravities related to each, the groups of feeling, perception, the aggregates, and consciousness connected with each, and the acts of body, speech, and mind that originate from each. These are called bad and evil thoughts that have not arisen.

Thus without producing bad and evil thoughts that have not arisen he exercises will, puts forth effort, begins to make exertion, and applies and exerts his mind.

(The rest of the section in the same way explains bad and evil thoughts that have arisen, and good thoughts that have or that have not arisen.)

Vibhanga, 208.

(3) The Four Bases of Psychic Power

Monks, whatever ascetics or brahmins have experienced various kinds of psychic power in the past, that is, who from being one have become many, from being many have become one ; who have gone without hindrance, appearing and disappearing through fences, walls, and mountains as though through open space ; who have dived into or out of the earth as though through water ; who have gone on water without dividing it as if on land, who have sat cross-legged in space like a winged bird ; who have even touched and stroked with the hand the moon and sun so great and mighty, and up to the world of Brahmā have exercised control with the body, they all have done it by practising and cultivating the four bases of psychic power. (The same statement is repeated for adepts in the future and adepts in the present.) What are the four ?

Herein, a monk practises the basis of psychic power combined with the concentration of will and the mental elements of effort ; the basis combined with the concentration of energy and the mental elements of effort ; the basis combined with the concentration of mind and the mental elements of effort ; the basis combined with the concentration of investigation and the mental elements of effort.

Monks, whatever ascetics and brahmins have experienced various kinds of psychic power in the past . . . in the future . . . in the present, they all have done it by practising the four bases of psychic power.

Saṃyutta, v, 275.

Practice of the Four Bases

These four bases of psychic power, monks, when practised and cultivated are of great fruit, of great blessing. And how, monks, are the four bases practised, how are they cultivated, and how are they of great fruit and blessing?

Herein, monks, a monk practises the basis of psychic power combined with the concentration of will and the mental elements of effort: thus my will will be not too sluggish and not too much exerted, not depressed inwardly nor distracted outwardly.

He practises the basis of psychic power combined with the concentration of energy. . . .

He practises the basis of psychic power combined with the concentration of mind. . . .

He practises the basis of psychic power combined with the concentration of investigation and the mental elements of effort: thus my investigation will be not too sluggish and not too much exerted, not depressed inwardly nor distracted outwardly. As before so behind, as behind so before; as below so above, as above so below, as by day so by night, as by night so by day. Thus with intellect open and unobstructed he practises his mind so that it is illuminated.

Saṃyutta, v, 276.

The Same According to Abhidhamma

Four bases of psychic power: here a monk practises (1) the basis of psychic power combined with the

concentration of will and the mental elements of effort ; (2) the basis combined with the concentration of energy and the mental elements of effort ; (3) the basis combined with the concentration of mind and the mental elements of effort ; (4) the basis combined with the concentration of investigation and the mental elements of effort.

And how does a monk practise the basis of psychic power combined with the concentration of will and the mental elements of effort? If a monk makes will predominant, he acquires concentration, he acquires unification of mind. This is called concentration of will. He without producing bad and evil thoughts that have not yet arisen exercises will, puts forth effort, begins to apply energy, exercises and exerts his mind ; by dispelling bad and evil thoughts that have arisen he exercises will, puts forth effort, begins to apply energy, exercises and exerts his mind ; by producing good thoughts that have not yet arisen he exercises will, puts forth effort, begins to apply energy, exercises and exerts his mind ; by fixing, freeing from confusion, increasing, enlarging, developing, and filling up good thoughts that have arisen he exercises will, puts forth effort, begins to apply energy, exercises and exerts his mind. These are called the mental elements of effort.

Thus there is this concentration of will and these mental elements of effort, and combining and uniting them together they become known by the term concentration of will and mental elements of effort.

[1] Herein what is will? Will, the exercising of will, the desire to act, will with a good purpose, is called will.

[1] Herein what is concentration? That fixing of the mind, settling, steadfastness, non-disturbance, non-distraction, non-disturbed state of mind, quietude, faculty of concentration, power of concentration, right concentration, is called concentration.

[1] Herein what is the mental element of effort? That mental exercise of energy, exerting, endeavour, striving, effort, trying, essaying, firmness, resolution, unrelaxed endeavouring, not throwing off will, not throwing off the burden (of making effort), grasping the burden, energy, the faculty of energy, the power of energy, right striving is called the mental element of effort.

Thus with this will, this concentration, and this mental element of effort it is combined, endowed, furnished; hence it is called combined with the concentration of will and the mental element of effort.

(The other bases of energy, mind, and investigation are explained in exactly the same terms.)

Vibhanga, 216.

(4) The Five Faculties

There are five faculties, monks: what are the five? The faculty of faith, the faculty of energy, the faculty of mindfulness, the faculty of concentration, the faculty of full knowledge.

[1] These three paragraphs are an example of the commentarial portions of Abhidhamma. They consist in this case of defining will, concentration, and effort by giving all possible synonyms.

And what, monks, is the faculty of faith? Herein, monks, the noble disciple is faithful. He has faith in the enlightenment of the Tathāgata, thus: the Lord, the arahat, the all enlightened, endowed with knowledge and conduct, the Happy One, knower of the world, supreme charioteer of men to be tamed, teacher of gods and men, Buddha, the Lord. This, monks, is called the faculty of faith.

And what, monks, is the faculty of energy? Here, monks, a noble disciple dwells exercising energy. With the dispelling of bad thoughts and the gaining of good thoughts he is steadfast, advancing steadily, not throwing off the burden involved in good thoughts. This is called the faculty of energy.

And what, monks, is the faculty of mindfulness? Here, monks, a noble disciple is mindful, endowed with supreme skill in mindfulness, one who remembers and calls to mind both what has been done and what has been spoken long ago. This, monks, is called the faculty of mindfulness.

And what, monks, is the faculty of concentration? Here, monks, a noble disciple making relinquishment the object of his thought acquires concentration, acquires one-pointedness of mind. This, monks, is called concentration.

And what, monks, is the faculty of full knowledge? Here, monks, a noble disciple has acquired full knowledge. He is endowed with the higher knowledge which leads to the knowledge of the rising and passing away of things, the noble higher knowledge which penetrates to the way leading to the complete destruction

of pain. This, monks, is called the faculty of full knowledge. These, monks, are the five faculties.

Saṃyutta, v, 196.

(5) THE FIVE POWERS[1]

There are five powers, monks. What are the five? The power of faith, the power of energy, the power of mindfulness, the power of concentration, the power of full knowledge. These, monks, are the five powers.

Just, monks, as the river Ganges flows to the east, slopes to the east, inclines to the east, even so a monk who practises the five powers and cultivates them flows to Nirvāṇa, slopes to Nirvāṇa, tends to Nirvāṇa.

And how does a monk who practises the five powers and cultivates them flow to Nirvāṇa, slope to Nirvāṇa, tend to Nirvāṇa? Herein a monk practises the faculty of faith, by means of seclusion, absence of passion, cessation, relinquishment, and ending in relinquishment. (Each of the other powers is then said to be practised in the same way.)

Even so, monks, a monk who practises the five powers and cultivates them flows to Nirvāṇa, slopes to Nirvāṇa, tends to Nirvāṇa.

Saṃyutta, v, 249.

The Faculties Distinguished from the Powers

Thus have I heard: At one time the Lord dwelt at

[1] As will be seen, the powers refer to the same qualities of the individual as the faculties. They become powers when they are so strong that they cannot be crushed by the passions. The next passage deals with the logical question why one thing should have two names, but does not really explain the difference.

Sāketa in the Anjavana in the Deer Park. Then the Lord addressed the monks. " Now is there, monks, a method by means of which the five faculties become the five powers, and by which the five powers become the five faculties ? "

" Lord, things have the Lord as their root, as their leader, as their resource. Verily, Lord, it would be well if the meaning of this that has been said should come from the Lord. On hearing the Lord the monks will bear it in mind." " Then listen, monks, bear it well in mind ; I will speak." " Even so, Lord," the monks replied.

" There is, monks, a method by means of which what are the five faculties become the five powers, and by which the five powers become the five faculties. And what is the method ? That which is the faculty of faith is the power of faith. That which is the power of faith is the faculty of faith. (And so of the other faculties and powers.)

" Just as if, monks, there were a river flowing to the east, sloping and inclining to the east, and in the middle of it were an island. There is a method by means of which one stream of the river is spoken of, and there is a method by means of which two streams of the river are spoken of. And what is the method by means of which one stream of the river is spoken of ? It is with reference to the water at the east end and west end of the island. This is the method by means of which one stream of the river is spoken of.

" And what is the method by means of which two streams of the river are spoken of ? It is with reference

to the water at the north end and the south end of the island. This is the method by means of which two streams of the river are spoken of. Even so, monks, that which is the faculty of faith is the power of faith. (And so of the other faculties and powers.)

"By the practising and cultivating of the five faculties, monks, with the destruction of the āsavas a monk in this very life comprehends for himself, realizes, attains, and abides in release of mind and release of full knowledge free from the āsavas."

Saṃyutta, v, 219.

(6) The Seven Parts of Enlightenment[1]

Seven parts of enlightenment : mindfulness, investigation of the Doctrine, energy, joy, repose, concentration, and equanimity.

(1) Herein what is mindfulness as a part of enlightenment ? Here a monk is mindful, endowed with supreme skill in mindfulness, one who remembers and calls to mind both what has been done and what has been spoken long ago. This is called mindfulness as a part of enlightenment.

(2) Abiding thus mindful he investigates the Doctrine with wisdom, examines it, and undertakes investigation. This is called investigation into the Doctrine as a part of enlightenment.

(3) As he investigates the Doctrine with wisdom, examines it, and undertakes investigation, his energy

[1] This is the analysis as given in an Abhidhamma work ; they also occur in a discourse above, p. 77.

becomes set going, and active. This is called energy as a part of enlightenment.

(4) When his energy has been set going, joy arises free from anything sensual. This is called joy as a part of enlightenment.

(5) When his heart is filled with joy, both his body reposes and his mind reposes. This is called repose as a part of enlightenment.

(6) When his body is in repose and happy, his mind becomes concentrated. This is called concentration as a part of enlightenment.

(7) He becomes one who looks with thorough equanimity at his mind thus concentrated. This is called equanimity as a part of enlightenment.

Vibhanga, 227.

(7) The Noble Eightfold Way

"The Noble Eightfold Way, monks, I will expound and analyse to you. Listen to it, reflect on it well, I will speak." "Even so, Lord," the monks replied to the Lord.

The Lord said, "What, monks, is the Noble Eightfold Way? It is namely right view, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration.

"And what, monks, is right view? The knowledge of pain, knowledge of the cause of pain, knowledge of the cessation of pain, and knowledge of the way that leads to the cessation of pain: that monks is called right view.

"And what is right intention? The intention to renounce, the intention not to hurt, the intention not to injure: that, monks, is called right intention.

"And what is right speech? Refraining from falsehood, from malicious speech, from harsh speech, from frivolous speech: that monks, is called right speech.

"And what is right action? Refraining from taking life, from taking what is not given, from sexual intercourse: that, monks, is called right action.

"And what is right livelihood? Here a noble disciple abandoning a false mode of livelihood gets his living by right livelihood: that, monks, is called right livelihood.

"And what is right effort? Here a monk with the non-producing of bad and evil thoughts that have not yet arisen exercises will, puts forth effort, begins to make exertion, applies and exerts his mind; with the dispelling of bad and evil thoughts that had arisen he exercises will, puts forth effort, begins to make exertion, applies and exerts his mind; with the producing of good thoughts that had not arisen he exercises will, puts forth effort, begins to make exertion, applies and exerts his mind; with the fixing, freeing from confusion, increasing, enlarging, developing and filling up of good thoughts that had arisen he exercises will, puts forth effort, begins to make exertion, applies and exerts his mind: that, monks, is called right effort.

"And what is right mindfulness? Here (1) on the body: a monk abides contemplating the body, ardent, thoughtful, and mindful, dispelling his longing and dejection towards the world; (2) on feelings: he abides contemplating the feelings, ardent, thoughtful,

and mindful, dispelling his longing and dejection towards the world; (3) on the mind: he abides contemplating the mind, ardent, thoughtful, and mindful, dispelling his longing and dejection towards the world; (4) on thoughts: he abides contemplating thoughts, ardent, thoughtful, and mindful, dispelling his longing and dejection towards the world. That, monks, is called right mindfulness.

"And what is right concentration? Here (1) a monk free from passions and evil thoughts attains and abides in the first trance of joy and pleasure, which is accompanied by reasoning and investigation and arises from seclusion. (2) With the ceasing of reasoning and investigation, in a state of internal serenity, with his mind fixed on one point, he attains and abides in the second trance of joy and pleasure arising from concentration, and free from reasoning and investigation. (3) With equanimity and indifference towards joy he abides mindful and self-possessed, and with his body experiences pleasure that the noble ones call 'Dwelling with equanimity, mindful and happy,' and attains and abides in the third trance. (4) Dispelling pleasure and pain, and even before the disappearance of elation and depression, he attains and abides in the fourth trance, which is without pleasure and pain, and with the purity of mindfulness and equanimity: that, monks, is called right concentration."

Saṃyutta, v, 8.

NIRVĀṆA

XX

NIRVĀṆA AS THE FINAL END

Nirvāṇa as the goal corresponds to what in other religions is called salvation. It is not salvation through another, but the attainment of a state of peace to be won entirely through the individual's own efforts. Hence the importance of the schemes of training which have been described above. It is reached by the destruction or cessation of craving, and the aspirant realizes that he is released. As it is also the culmination of a mystic experience it results in a state of bliss. This may be attained during life, and so long as the connection with the body remains it is known as Nirvāṇa with a substrate of rebirth (*upādi* or *upadhi*). With the final dissolution of the body there results the Nirvāṇa without a substrate of rebirth.

When the Lord had stayed at Rājagaha as long as he wished, he set off journeying to Sāvatthī, and in time reached Sāvatthī. There he stayed in the Jetavana monastery in the park of Anāthapiṇḍika. Now the elder Puṇṇa Mantāniputta heard that the Lord was staying at Sāvatthī, so packing up his bed and taking his bowl and robe he set off for Sāvatthī. Having reached the Lord he saluted him and sat down on one side. As he sat there the Lord instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened him by a discourse on the Doctrine. Then the elder, instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened, expressed delight and approval, and rising from his seat saluted the Lord by passing round

him to the right and went away to the Andha wood [1] to stay in the open air.

Then a certain monk approached the elder Sāriputta, and said, "The monk Puṇṇa Mantāniputta, whom you are often praising, has been instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened by a discourse on the Doctrine from the Lord, and has gone away to the Andha wood to stay in the open air." So Sāriputta hurriedly taking his mat followed behind Puṇṇa, looking carefully in front. Puṇṇa enter the Andha wood and sat in the open air beneath a certain tree, and Sāriputta also entered the grove and sat in the open air beneath a certain tree.

Then in the evening Sāriputta rose from his meditation, approached Puṇṇa, exchanged courteous and pleasant greeting with him, and sat on one side. As he sat there he said to Puṇṇa, "Are you leading the religious life in our Lord?" "Yes, friend." "Now, friend, are you leading the religious life in the Lord for the sake of purity of morals?" "No, friend." "Well, friend, are you leading it for the sake of purity of mind?" "No, friend." "Well, are you leading it for the sake of purity of views?" "No, friend." "Well, are you leading it for the sake of purity in overcoming doubts?" "No, friend." "Well, are you leading it for the sake of purity of knowledge and insight about the right and wrong way?" "No, friend." "Well, are you leading it for the sake of knowledge and insight into the Path?" "No, friend." "Well, are you leading it for the sake of knowledge

[1] A wood two miles south of Sāvatthī under the protection of the king, where monks and nuns used to go to meditate.

and insight ? " " No, friend." " Now, friend, when you are asked if you are leading the religious life in the Lord for the sake of purity of morals and the rest, you say no. For what purpose then are you leading the religious life in the Lord ? " " For the sake of attaining Nirvāṇa without support." " Well, friend, is purity of morals the attaining of Nirvāṇa without any support ? " " No, friend." " Is purity of mind, and the rest ? " " No, friend." " Now, is there the attaining of Nirvāṇa without support apart from these things ? " " No, friend." " Well, when you are asked if purity of morals is the attaining of Nirvāṇa without support, you say no, and so of the rest, but when you are asked if there is the attaining of Nirvāṇa without support apart from these things, you say no. How is the meaning of what you say to be understood ? "

" Friend, if the Lord had preached purity of morals, purity of mind, and the rest, as being the attaining of Nirvāṇa without support, then he would have preached that the attaining of Nirvāṇa without support exists along with grasping.[1] And if the attaining of Nirvāṇa without support were apart from these things, then the ordinary man might win Nirvāṇa, for the ordinary man is without them.

" I will therefore give you a simile, friend ; by means of a simile some intelligent men understand the meaning of what is said. Suppose, while Pasenadi the Kosala king were staying at Sāvatthī, some urgent business were to arise at Sāketa, and between Sāvatthī and Sāketa

[1] A man may be of perfectly moral conduct and yet full of the desire to enjoy all the pleasures of life.

they were to set up seven relays of chariots for him. Then the king on starting from his palace door at Sāvatthī would mount the first chariot, and from the first chariot he would reach the second, from the second chariot the third up to the seventh, and with the seventh he would reach his palace door at Sāketa. When he reached the palace door his friends and relations would ask him, 'Have you, O king, come to the palace door at Sāketa from Sāvatthī in this (seventh) chariot?' How would the king properly explain it? He would properly explain it by saying, 'While I was staying at Sāvatthī, some urgent business arose at Sāketa, and between Sāvatthī and Sāketa they set up seven relays of chariots for me. Then starting from the palace door at Sāvatthī, I mounted the first chariot . . . and so on to the seventh, and with the seventh I reached the palace door at Sāketa.' Thus he would properly explain it.

"Just so, purity of morals is only to this extent for the sake of purity of mind, purity of mind for the sake of purity of views, purity of views for the sake of purity in overcoming doubts, purity in overcoming doubts for the sake of purity of knowledge and insight about the right and wrong way, purity of knowledge and insight about the right and wrong way for the sake of purity of knowledge and insight into the Path, purity of knowledge and insight into the Path for the sake of purity of knowledge and insight, and purity of knowledge and insight for the sake of attaining Nirvāṇa without support. It is for the sake of attaining Nirvāṇa without support, friend, that the religious life in the Lord is lived.

Rathavinīta-s., *Majjhima*, i, 146.

XXI

NIRVĀṆA AS ULTIMATE

Buddha here foretells the destiny of the brahmin Uṇṇābha by his power of mind-reading (p. 66), and the stage in which he places him is that of Non-returner, next to the arahat, see p. 109.

The brahmin Uṇṇābha approached the Lord, and having exchanged courteous and pleasant greeting with him sat down on one side. Thus seated the brahmin Uṇṇābha said to the Lord, "There are these five faculties, sir Gotama, of different spheres and different ranges, and they do not experience one another's ranges. What are the five? The faculties of sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch. Now as these five faculties have different spheres and different ranges, and do not experience one another's ranges, to what are they referred, and who experiences their respective ranges?" "These five faculties, brahmin, of different spheres and different ranges, which do not experience one another's ranges, are referred to mind, and mind experiences their respective ranges." [1]

"And to what, sir Gotama, is mind referred?" "Mind, brahmin, is referred to mindfulness." "And to what is mindfulness referred?" "Mindfulness is referred to release." "And to what is release referred?" "Release is referred to Nirvāṇa." "And to what is Nirvāṇa referred?" "Your questioning goes too far, brahmin, one could not get to the end of your questioning.

[1] This is why Indian psychology recognizes mind as a sixth sense. It corresponds to the *sensus communis* of Aristotle. It is the inner sense, which perceives as thoughts or ideas all the impressions that come through the five outer senses.

The religious life is lived as plunged in Nirvāṇa, with Nirvāṇa as its aim, and Nirvāṇa as its end." Then the brahmin Uṇṇābha expressed delight and approval at the Lord's words, and rising from his seat saluted the Lord by passing round him to the right and went away.

Then the Lord, soon after the brahmin Uṇṇābha had gone, addressed the monks : " Suppose, monks, in a house or a hall with a pinnacled roof with a window facing east, when the sun is rising and the rays strike through the window, on what are they fixed ? " " On the western wall, Lord." " Even so, monks, the faith of the brahmin Uṇṇābha is established, rooted, and fixed on the Tathāgata ; it is strong and not to be removed by any ascetic or brahmin or god or Māra or Brahmā or by anyone in the world. If at this time, monks, the brahmin Uṇṇābha were to die, he is not fettered by any fetter by which he might return again to this world."

Saṃyutta, v, 217.

XXII

NIRVĀṆA AND THE SELF

It is the question of what happens to the arahat at death that has given rise to most discussion. We may put aside the view that it means the annihilation of the individual. That interpretation was drawn by opponents in ancient times, not as being the real Buddhist view, but was made an accusation, as being the logical conclusion to which the Buddhist theory of the self ought to lead. In modern times it has even been held that it was Buddha's own view, but that he disguised it for the sake of weak hearers.

The argument depends upon the Buddhist analysis of the self—not the soul, but the total individual. This is the body with the immaterial part analysed into sensation, perception, the aggregates or activities (manifestations of will), and consciousness. The logical difficulty arises concerning the problem of the whole and its parts. Is the whole the mere sum of its parts? The argument here leaves the difficulty unsolved. The conclusion is drawn that no part of the individual can be identified with the self nor can we say what the self as a whole is, and therefore with the destruction of any part we cannot speak of the annihilation of the self. The West in dealing with the problem has usually followed Plato and identified the self with consciousness or with that which manifests itself as consciousness, a separate entity called the soul. That theory, in the form that it is consciousness as something persisting unchanged from birth to birth, is also expressly denied by Buddhism. Besides the denial that any one of the five groups can be called the self, the theory that this visible self and world is permanent and eternal is also denied. This appears to be aimed at some form of the Hindu doctrine of the ātman. It cannot be said to be a refutation, except in the sense that the doctrine must be false if the Buddhist analysis of the self into five groups is true.

"There are these six views, monks. What are the six? Herein an unlearned, common man, who does not pay regard to the noble ones, who is ignorant of the noble Doctrine and untrained in it, who does not pay regard to good men, who is ignorant of the Doctrine of good men and is untrained in it, (1) looks upon his body as, "This is mine, I am this, this is my self"; (2) he looks upon his sensations . . . ; (3) his perception . . . ; (4) his aggregates . . . ; (5) his consciousness, as, 'This is mine, I am this, this is my self'; (6) he looks upon whatever is seen, heard, thought, perceived, apprehended,

desired, or pursued by his mind as 'This is mine, I am this, this is my self', holding that 'The world is the self, after death I shall become permanent, stable, eternal, and not liable to change, and I shall stay so for ever', he looks upon this as 'This is mine, I am this, this is my self.'

"Now a learned noble disciple, who pays regard to the noble ones, who knows the noble Doctrine and is well-trained in it, who pays regard to good men, who knows the Doctrine of good men and is well-trained in it, does not look upon his body (and the other groups) as 'This is mine, I am this, this is my self'. As he thus considers these things he does not worry about that which is not."

At these words a certain monk said to the Lord, "Can there be worry, Lord, about that which is non-existent outwardly?" "There can, monk," the Lord replied. "In this case a monk thinks, 'Alas, it was mine, alas, it is not mine, alas, it might be mine, alas I have it not.' He grieves, troubles, laments, beats his breast, and becomes bewildered. Even so, monk, there is worry about that which is non-existent outwardly."

"Can there be, Lord, freedom from worry about what is non-existent outwardly?" "There can, monk," the Lord replied. "In this case a monk does not think, 'Alas, it was mine. . . .' He does not grieve, trouble, lament, beat his breast, or become bewildered. Even so, monk, there is freedom from worry about that which is non-existent outwardly."

"Can there be, Lord, worry about what is non-existent inwardly?" "There can, monk," the Lord replied. "In this case a monk has the view that 'The

world is the self ; after death I shall become permanent, stable, eternal, and not liable to change, and I shall stay so for ever.' He hears a Tathāgata or a Tathāgata's disciple preaching the Doctrine for the abolishing of all false views, obstinacies, prejudices, inclinations, and biases, for the quieting of all the aggregates, for the rejection of all elements of rebirth, for the destruction of craving, for absence of passion, cessation, Nirvāṇa. He thinks, 'Verily I shall be annihilated, I shall be destroyed, I shall no longer exist.' He grieves, troubles, laments, beats his breast, and becomes bewildered. Even so, monk, there is worry about that which is non-existent inwardly."

"Can there be, Lord, freedom from worry about what does not exist inwardly ?" "There can, monk," the Lord replied. "In this case a monk is free from the view that the world is the self. . . . He hears a Tathāgata or a Tathāgata's disciple preaching. . . . He does not think, 'Verily I shall be annihilated, I shall be destroyed, I shall no longer exist.' He does not grieve, trouble, lament, beat his breast, or become bewildered. Even so, monk, there is freedom from worry about that which is non-existent outwardly.

"You might like, monks, to acquire a possession permanent, stable, eternal, and not liable to change, and staying so for ever. Do you see such a possession ?" "No, Lord." "Good, monks, I too perceive no such possession. You might like to have such a hold on the doctrine of a self that grief, lamentation, sorrow, dejection, and despair would not come upon him who holds it. Do you see such a hold . . . ?" "No, Lord."

"Good, monks, I too perceive no such hold. You might like to have such a support for a view that grief, lamentation, sorrow, dejection, and despair would not come upon him who rests upon it. Do you see such a support?" "No, Lord." "Good, monks, I too perceive no such support.

"If there were a self, monks, there would be something of mine belonging to my self." "Even so, Lord." "If there were something belonging to myself there would be my self."[1] "Even so, Lord." "But if the self and something belonging to the self were accepted as true and real, this view that the world is the self, that after death I shall become permanent, stable, eternal, and not liable to change, and that I shall stay so for ever, would it be wholly and entirely the doctrine of fools?" "Surely, Lord, it would not be wholly and entirely the doctrine of fools."

"What do you think, monks, is the body permanent or impermanent?" "Impermanent, Lord." "But is the impermanent painful or pleasant?" "Painful, Lord." "But is it fitting to consider that which is impermanent, painful, and liable to change as 'This is mine, I am this, this is my self'?" "No, Lord." (Sensation, perception, the aggregates, and consciousness are discussed in the same way.) "Therefore the body, past, present, and future, internal or external, gross or fine, low or high, near or far, all body, should be looked upon as 'This is not mine, I am not this, this is not my self'." (And so of sensation, etc.)

[1] The two things are *attā* "self", and that which is relative to the self, *attaniyam*. If there were a *me* we could say there was a *mine*, and vice versa.

"When a learned noble disciple thus perceives, he turns away from body, from sensation, perception, the aggregates, and consciousness. As he turns away he becomes free from passion, through freedom from passion he is released. In the released is the knowledge of his release. He comprehends that rebirth is destroyed, the religious life has been lived, done is what was to be done, there is nothing further for this world. . . .[1]

"A monk whose mind is thus released cannot be followed and tracked out even by the gods including Indra, Brahmā, and Pajāpati, so that they could say, 'There rests the consciousness of a released person.'[2] And why? Even in this actual life, monks, I say that a released person is not to be thoroughly known. Though I thus say and thus preach, some ascetics and brahmins accuse me wrongly, baselessly, falsely, and groundlessly, saying that the ascetic Gotama is a nihilist, and preaches the annihilation, destruction, and non-existence of an existent being. That is what I am not and do not affirm. Both previously and now I preach pain and the cessation of pain. If herein others abuse, revile, and annoy the Tathāgata, the Tathāgata does not therein feel anger, displeasure, or discontent of mind. And if others herein honour, revere, exalt, and worship the Tathāgata, he does not therein feel joy, happiness, and exultation of mind. . . . He thinks it is on account of what came to be comprehended long ago that such

[1] Here follow some epithets describing the state with a commentary on them.

[2] The word is *tathāgata*, evidently used here of anyone who has attained release. As used below it is the term by which Buddha refers to himself; see p. 137.

things are done to him. Therefore if herein others abuse, revile, and annoy you also, you should not therein feel anger, displeasure, and discontent. And if others honour, revere, exalt, and worship you also, you should not therein feel joy, happiness, and exultation of mind. . . . You should think that it is on account of what came to be comprehended long ago that such things are done to you.

"Therefore, monks, put away that which is not yours. That being put away will for long be to you for profit and happiness. And what is not yours? The body . . . sensations . . . perception . . . the aggregates . . . consciousness are not yours. Put them away (as not yours). Their putting away will for long be to you for profit and happiness. What do you think, monks, were a man in this grove to collect grass, sticks, branches, and foliage or burn them or some such thing, would you think the man were taking or burning you?" "No, Lord, and why? Because that is not our self nor anything belonging to our self." "Even so, monks, put away that which is not yours. That being put away will for long be to you for profit and happiness. . . .

"Even so has the Doctrine been well declared by me, plain, open, illuminated, flawless. In this Doctrine which has been well declared by me:—

"(1) Those monks who are arahats, who have destroyed the āsavas, who have lived the life, who have done what was to be done, who have laid down the burden, who have attained their purpose, in whom the fetter of desire for existence is destroyed, and who are released with complete knowledge, their course is not to be pointed out.

"(2) Those monks who have cast off the five lower fetters will all receive apparitional birth (in a higher world), and attaining Nirvāṇa they are not liable to return from that world.

"(3) Those monks who have cast off the three fetters, and who have reduced passion, hatred, and delusion, will all return once to this world, and having come back once to this world will make an end of pain.

"(4) Those monks who have cast off the three fetters have all entered the stream, they are not liable to rebirth in an unhappy state, their course is certain, and they are destined to enlightenment.

"(5) Those monks who follow the Doctrine, who follow with faith, are all destined to enlightenment.

"(6) They who merely have faith and love towards me are all destined to heaven." [1]

Alagadūpama-s., *Majjhima*, i,

XXIII

NIRVĀṆA AS THE PERMANENT STATE

The following well-known passages describe Nirvāṇa as the permanent by denying of it everything that is a feature of the world of experience. That the state is real there is no doubt, but nothing that belongs to the reality of sense-experience can be asserted of it. It describes the arahat whether in his

[1] Of these six classes the first four are those who are in one of the four stages of the Way: the Arahat, who has won enlightenment, the Non-returner (*anāgāmin*), who after death will win enlightenment in a higher world, the Once-returner (*sakadāgāmin*), and he who has entered the stream (*sotāpanna*) by realizing the truth of impermanence. Even monks, it will be seen, may not have reached the first stage.

ecstatic state of realization during life or when at death every "substrate of rebirth" has been withdrawn.

Thus have I heard: At one time the Lord dwelt at Sāvatthī in the Jetavana monastery in the park of Anāthapiṇḍika. Now at that time the Lord instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened the monks with a doctrinal discourse relating to Nirvāṇa. And the monks having grasped the meaning, having reflected upon it and devoted their whole mind to it, listened attentively to the Doctrine. Then the Lord seeing that result at the time uttered this fervent utterance:—

"There is, monks, the stage where there is neither earth nor water nor fire nor wind nor the stage of the infinity of space nor the stage of the infinity of consciousness nor the stage of nothingness nor the stage of neither consciousness nor non-consciousness; neither this world nor the other world nor sun and moon. There, monks, I say there is neither coming nor going nor staying nor passing away nor arising. Without support or going on or basis is it. This indeed is the end of pain. (This sutta occurs four times, each time with a different fervent utterance. The others are:—)

"(2) Hard to see, without bending,[1] indeed,
'Tis a truth not easy to see;
Mastered is craving for him who knows,
Nothing is there for him who sees.

"(3) There is, monks, an unborn, an unbecome, an

[1] *anatam*, without the bending or turning to enjoyments which is shown by craving. The Pali Text Society's edition prints *anattam* "without self", which is against the metre, and is probably only a misreading for another variant, *anantam* "infinite".

unmade, an uncompounded ; if, monks, there were not this unborn, unbecome, unmade, uncompounded, there would not here be an escape from the born, the become, the made, the compounded. But because there is an unborn, an unbecome, an unmade, an uncompounded, therefore there is an escape from the born, the become, the made, the compounded.

" (4) There is unsteadiness of the supported, there is no unsteadiness of the unsupported ; when there is no unsteadiness there is repose, when there is repose there is no bending,[1] when there is no bending there is no coming and going, when there is no coming and going there is no passing away and arising, when there is no passing away and arising there is neither a here nor a beyond nor aught between them. This indeed is the end of pain."

Udāna, VIII, 1–4.

XXIV

CONSCIOUSNESS AND INDIVIDUALITY IN NIRVĀṆA

The questions of Upasīva show that the most crucial questions concerning Nirvāṇa have not been neglected. The "state of nothingness" in the first question is not final release but the sixth of the stages of release attained by concentration. Beyond that there are still the stages up to the final release of Nirvāṇa. But the disciple has not yet destroyed all craving, and Upasīva asks if one in that stage will be reborn in a lower existence. The reply is that he is a Non-returner, and will

[1] *nati*, turning to enjoyments in the same sense as *a-natam* "not turned", above.

attain final release, "the stage of coolness," from there. From that stage he finally disappears, but he is not to be called non-existent. No attributes or qualities remain by which anything can be asserted of him. Compare also what is said of the state of a released person in the discussion on the undetermined questions, p. 196.

UPASĪVA: Alone, O Sakyan, and unsupported, powerless am I to cross the great flood; with what to rest on, tell me, all-seeing One, may I find support and cross this flood.

THE LORD: Be mindful, and seek the state of nothingness; resting upon "nought is", cross thou the flood. Put aside lusts, avoid doubtings, and by night and day look for the destruction of craving.

UPASĪVA: He in whom passion for all lusts is gone, who rests on nothingness and has put aside all else, who is released in the highest of the releases of perception,[1] shall he abide there without departing from it?

THE LORD: He in whom passion for all lusts is gone, who rests on nothingness and has put aside all else, who is released in the highest of the releases of perception, shall abide there without departing from it.

UPASĪVA: If he abides there without departing from it for a long term of years, all-seeing One, and there should be released and in the stage of coolness, will the consciousness of such a one be reborn?

THE LORD: As a flame, blown out by the wind, disappears and cannot be named, even so the recluse when released from name and body disappears and cannot be named.

[1] Not final release, but the sixth release corresponding to the third attainment of the formless world, above, p. 70.

UPASĪVA : He who has disappeared, is he non-existent, or (is he) free from sickness in perpetuity? This, O Recluse, explain to me well, for this matter is well known to thee.

THE LORD : No measuring is there of him that has disappeared, whereby one might know of him that he is not ; when all qualities are removed, all modes of speech are removed also.

Sutta-nipāta, 1069–1076.

XXV

GODHIKA'S RELAPSE

The following legend also touches on the final state of the released, and gives an answer to other speculations. Suicide for the ordinary man is a sin, and for the monk to counsel anyone to commit suicide is one of the four fundamental sins that involve expulsion from the Order. But what if one who attains release and cuts off everything that binds him to rebirth then commits suicide? Evidently he cannot be reborn. That is the conclusion drawn, but apart from one or two legends of this kind there is nothing to show that it ever occurred in actual life. The commentators explain the relapse of Godhika to be a fall not from his state of arahatship but from the ecstatic state of trance, which owing to sickness he could not maintain.

The introduction of Māra illustrates the view that one wrapped up in the senses cannot understand the higher states. Māra was ignorant both of Godhika's actual attainment and of the final state of an arahat. He expected to find Godhika's consciousness "established" by being conceived in some being as an individual ready for another birth.

Thus have I heard : At one time the Lord was dwelling at Rājagaha in the Veluvana monastery in

the Kalandaka-nivāpa. At that time the elder Godhika was dwelling on the Isigili slope at the Black Rock. Now the elder Godhika abiding vigilant, zealous, resolute-hearted, reached temporary rclease of mind. Then he fell away from that temporary release of mind. And a second time the elder Godhika abiding vigilant, zealous, resolute-hearted, reached temporary release of mind, and a second time he fell away . . . a third . . . fourth . . . fifth . . . sixth time. . . .

And a seventh time the elder Godhika abiding vigilant, zealous, resolute-hearted, reached temporary release of mind. So the elder Godhika thought, "For the sixth time I have fallen away from temporary release of mind; what if I were now to take a knife?" Then Māra the wicked, knowing what was going on in Godhika's mind, approached the Lord, and having approached addressed him with a verse:—

"O great hero of great wisdom,
Shining with glory and with might,
Who hast passed beyond all hate and fear,
Thy feet I worship, All-seeing One.
Thy disciple, O great hero,
O thou who death hast overcome,
Is eager and intent on death;
Restrain him, thou resplendent One.
For how, O Lord, can thy disciple,
Who in thy teaching takes delight,
A learner, whose mind has not attained,
Work his own death, thou famous one?"

Now at that time Godhika had taken the knife. So the Lord, seeing that it was Māra the wicked, addressed him with a verse:—

"Even so do the constant ones;
They have no longing after life;
Drawing out craving by the root
Godhika has won Nirvāṇa."

Then the Lord addressed the monks: "Come, monks, let us go to the Black Rock on the Isigili slope, where Godhika the well-born youth has taken a knife." "Even so, Lord," the monks replied to the Lord. So the Lord with a great number of monks went to the Black Rock on the Isigili slope, and the Lord from a distance saw Godhika lying on a couch with his shoulders turned round. Now at that time there was a smoking and a darkness going to the eastern quarter, it was going to the west, the north, the south, the zenith, the nadir, and to the intermediate quarters.

Then the Lord addressed the monks: "Do you see, monks, a smoking and a darkness going to the eastern quarter, to the west, the north, the south, the zenith, the nadir, and to the intermediate quarters?" "Even so, Lord." "That, monks, is Māra the wicked looking to see where the consciousness of the well-born youth Godhika has become established; but, monks, the well-born youth Godhika has attained Nirvāna with consciousness not established anywhere."

So Māra the wicked taking a yellow lute of vilva wood approached the Lord and addressed him with a verse:—

"Above, below, and round about,
In each and every quarter I
Am seeking, yet I do not find
In what way Godhika has gone."

THE LORD: "Constant was he, with firmness dowered,
In meditation took delight,
Applying himself by night and day
He did not crave and long for life.
Death's army having overcome,
Returning not to birth again,
Drawing out craving by the root
Godhika has won Nirvāṇa."

Then was Māra o'ercome with grief,
His lute sank down beneath his arm;
And the Yakkha in dejection
Straightway disappeared from thence.

Saṃyutta, i, 120.

SPECIAL DOCTRINES

XXVI

PROFITABLE AND UNPROFITABLE DOCTRINES

The dogmas grouped in this section are certain teachings which have become prominent in discussion. Taken alone they do not represent Buddhism as a system. They have to be seen as part of the schemes of training, and as such some of them have already been treated above. They all culminate in the fundamental doctrine of the four Truths. It will be noticed that there is a reference to certain doctrines set aside as not profitable. These are the undetermined questions and other speculations given below.

At one time the Lord dwelt at Kosambī in the sisu-grove. Then the Lord took a few sisu leaves in his hand and addressed the monks: "What do you think, monks, which are the more, the few sisu leaves I have taken in my hand, or those that are in the sisu-grove?" "Small in number, Lord, and few are the leaves that the Lord has taken in his hand: those are far more that are in the sisu-grove." "Even so, monks, that is much more which have I realized and have not declared to you; and but little have I declared.

"And why, monks, have I not declared it? Because it is not profitable, does not belong to the beginning of the religious life, and does not tend to revulsion, absence of passion, cessation, calm, higher knowledge, enlightenment, Nirvāṇa. Therefore have I not declared it.

"And what, monks, have I declared? This is pain, I have declared; this is the cause of pain, I have declared; this is the cessation of pain, I have declared; this is the Way leading to the cessation of pain, I have declared. And why, monks, have I declared it? Because it is profitable, it belongs to the beginning of the religious life, and tends to revulsion, absence of passion, cessation, calm, higher knowledge, enlightenment, Nirvāṇa. Therefore have I declared it.

"Therefore, monks, to this you must be devoted: this is pain, this is the cause of pain, this is the cessation of pain, this is the Way leading to the cessation of pain."

Saṃyutta, v, 437.

XXVII

THE CHAIN OF CAUSATION

There are several unsettled questions concerning this formula. It has been supposed to be borrowed from other schools, but nothing convincing has been proved, and it is certain that in its present form it is purely Buddhist with the purely Buddhist purpose of explaining the two truths of the origin and the cessation of pain.

As the individual passes through birth after birth, there are stages at which certain factors are of critical importance in determining the next stage. These form a list of twelve causal stages. The exact meaning of the links or stages is also disputed, but according to older Buddhist exegesis each link is the causal factor of a series of states in the life (or lives) of an individual. Consciousness is the form in which the individual transmigrates at death.[1] Unless he is then finally released, he passes in the

[1] The first two links, ignorance and the aggregates, refer to a previous existence, see below, p. 121; for the aggregates, see p. 125.

form of rebirth-consciousness to a new conception, and becomes a complete individual, mind and body (*nāma-rūpa*). As such he develops the six sense-organs, and these result in contact, i.e. the stimulus not merely of the sense of touch, but of each organ, giving rise to sensation or feeling. This feeling of pleasure and pain through any of the senses results in craving, craving in grasping, grasping in desire for existence, which lead to rebirth and again to old age and death.

Before my enlightenment, monks, when I was unenlightened and still a bodhisatta, I thought : " Into wretchedness, alas, has this world fallen, it is born, grows old, dies, passes away, and is reborn. But from this pain it knows no escape, from old age and death. When indeed from this pain shall an escape be known, from old age and death ? "

Then, monks, I thought, " Now when what exists do old age and death exist, and what is the cause of old age and death ? " And as I duly reflected, there came the comprehension of full knowledge : it is when there is rebirth that there is old age and death. Old age and death have rebirth as cause.

Then, monks, I thought, " Now when what exists does rebirth exist, and what is the cause of rebirth ? " And as I duly reflected there came the comprehension of full knowledge : it is when there is becoming (or desire to be) that there is rebirth, rebirth has desire to be as cause.

(In the same way desire to be is said to be caused by grasping, grasping by craving, craving by feeling, feeling by contact or stimulation of any of the senses, contact by the six sense-organs, the six sense-organs

by mind-and-body,[1] mind-and-body by consciousness, consciousness by the aggregates, and the aggregates by ignorance.)

Thus with ignorance as cause there are the aggregates, with the aggregates as cause there is consciousness (etc. down to) with rebirth as cause there is old age and death. Even so is the origin of this whole mass of pain.

The origin, the origin : thus as I duly reflected on these things unheard before, vision arose, knowledge arose, full knowledge arose, understanding arose, light arose.

Then, monks, I thought, "Now when what does not exist do old age and death not exist, and with the cessation of what do old age and death cease ?" Then as I duly reflected there came the comprehension of full knowledge: when there is no rebirth there is no old age and death, and with the cessation of rebirth there is the cessation of old age and death.

Then, monks, I thought : "Now when what does not exist does rebirth not exist, and with the cessation of what does rebirth cease ?" Then as I duly reflected there came the comprehension of full knowledge : when there is no desire to be there is no rebirth, and with the cessation of the desire to be there is cessation of rebirth.

(Then with the cessation of grasping follows the cessation of the desire to be, with the cessation of craving the cessation of grasping, with the cessation of feeling the cessation of craving, with the cessation of contact the cessation of feeling, with the cessation of the six sense-organs the cessation of contact, with the cessation

[1] The word for mind here is *nāma*, "name," i.e. the whole immaterial part of the individual as opposed to *rūpa*, the body.

of mind-and-body the cessation of the six sense-organs, with the cessation of consciousness the cessation of mind-and-body, with the cessation of the aggregates the cessation of consciousness, and with the cessation of ignorance the cessation of the aggregates.)[1]

Thus with the cessation of ignorance there is the cessation of the aggregates, with the cessation of the aggregates the cessation of consciousness, with the cessation of consciousness the cessation of mind-and-body, with the cessation of mind-and-body the cessation of the six sense-organs, with the cessation of the six sense-organs the cessation of contact, with the cessation of contact the cessation of feeling, with the cessation of feeling the cessation of craving, with the cessation of craving the cessation of grasping, with the cessation of grasping the cessation of the desire to be, with the cessation of the desire to be the cessation of rebirth, with the cessation of rebirth the cessation of old age and death. Even so is the cessation of this whole mass of pain.

Cessation, cessation : thus as I duly reflected on these things unheard before, vision arose, knowledge arose, full knowledge arose, understanding arose, light arose.[2]

Saṃyutta, ii, 10.

[1] Abbreviations occur here in the original, and each link is intended to be expanded in recitation into the same formula as that explaining the cessation of rebirth.

[2] It is probable that the whole series of twelve links has been elaborated from a list with a fewer number of items. Such a list occurs in the next passage, where only the last five are given. There is another list with ten links, omitting the first two (ignorance and the aggregates). These two, as they occur in the full list, are interpreted as applying to a previous life of the individual. His ignorance (of true release) leads to the aggregates or factors of will, which result in rebirth.

XXVIII

THE EXTINCTION OF CRAVING

The following passage shows how the last five links of the Chain of Causation were understood. It clearly expounds, not a cosmological formula, but the state of an individual subject to craving. This passion leads to grasping or greed, the desire for more, and hence to becoming, the desire to exist in another life. Hence transmigration takes place, and he is reborn. *Jāti*, "birth", which on Buddhist theory implies rebirth, is not the mere process of separation from his mother, which is not a causal state at all, but the whole process of rebirth, or passing from one existence to another.

He dwelt at Sāvatthī. "In one, monks, who abides reflecting on the enjoyment of things that fetter, craving increases. With craving as a cause there is grasping. With grasping as a cause there is becoming (the desire to be). With the desire to be as a cause there is rebirth. With rebirth as a cause old age and death, grief, lamentation, pain, dejection, and despair arise. Even so is the cause of this whole mass of pain.

"Just as, monks, on account of oil and on account of a wick an oil-lamp would burn, and a man from time to time were to pour oil thereon and trim the wick, even so, monks, an oil-lamp with that nutriment, that fuel, would burn for a long time.

"Even so, monks, in one who abides reflecting on the enjoyment of things that fetter, craving increases. . . . Even so is the cause of this whole mass of pain.

"In one, monks, who reflects on the wretchedness of things that fetter, craving ceases. With the cessation

of craving grasping ceases. . . . Even so is the cessation of this whole mass of pain.

"Just as, monks, on account of oil and on account of a wick an oil-lamp would burn, and a man from time to time were not to pour oil thereon and not to trim the wick, even so, monks, an oil-lamp with the exhaustion of the original fuel and being without nutriment through being unfed with any more would become extinct.

"Even so, monks, in one who abides reflecting on the wretchedness of things that fetter, craving ceases. With the ceasing of craving grasping ceases. With the ceasing of grasping the desire to be ceases. With the ceasing of the desire to be rebirth ceases. With the ceasing of rebirth old age and death, grief, lamentation, pain, dejection, and despair cease. Even so is the cessation of this whole mass of pain."

Saṃyutta, ii, 86.

XXIX

THE BURDEN OF THE FIVE GROUPS

The five groups of the individual, his body, feeling, perception, the aggregates, and consciousness, form the totality of which he consists. They have been discussed above (p. 103) in connection with the question whether any one of them or all of them can be looked upon as a permanent self. The following discourse has been appealed to both by those who would find in Buddhism the doctrine of something permanent in addition to the five groups, and also by those who deny it.[1] There were

[1] L. de la Vallée Poussin, "La negation de l'âme et la doctrine de l'acte," in *Journ. Asiat.*, 1902, 237.

schools like the Vātsīputrīyas, who held that the individual was more than the totality of the five groups, but even these rejected the doctrine of a permanent self or *ātman* as held by the brahmins. On the other hand the view that the final dispersion of the groups meant the annihilation of the individual was equally denied. The arahat when released from the body reaches the permanent state of Nirvāṇa without *upādi* or any basis that can lead to rebirth, and being free from all characteristics of transiency nothing can be asserted of him.

"The burden, monks, I will teach you, the taking of the burden, the grasping after the burden, and the laying down of the burden. Listen to it.

"What, monks, is the burden ? The answer should be, the five groups of grasping. What are the five ? They are, namely the group of grasping forming the body, the group forming feeling, the group forming perception, the group forming the aggregates, and the group forming consciousness. This, monks, is called the burden.

"And what, monks, is the taking of the burden ? The answer should be the individual. Any reverend one of such a name and clan. This, monks, is called the taking of the burden.

"And what, monks, is the grasping after the burden ? It is that craving which tends to rebirth, accompanied by delight and passion, taking delight here and there, namely the craving for sensual pleasure, the craving for existence, the craving for non-existence. This, monks, is called the grasping after the burden.

"And what, monks, is the laying down of the burden ? It is the cessation of that craving without a trace, its abandoning and its relinquishment, release from it, and absence of attachment to it."

Thus said the Lord; and thereat the Happy One, the Master, spoke further:—

"The burdens verily are the five groups,
And the burden-taking is the individual;
Grasping the groups is pain in the world,
Laying down the burden is happiness.
When he has laid the heavy burden down,
And has not taken up another burden,
Having drawn out craving by the root,
Free from hunger he has won Nirvāṇa."

Saṃyutta, iii, 25.

XXX

THE AGGREGATES OR ACTIVITIES

When the individual is analysed into groups, the body, feelings or sensations, perception, and consciousness, there are still other non-material features to be accounted for, such as will and any manifestation of will and impulse, as well as unconscious habits and such characteristics. These form the remaining group of the *sankhāras*, lit. "compounds, aggregates". There is no psychological term in English to express the idea, but as the Buddhist scholastics made enumerations of them, as in the following list, it is easy to see what is meant. Different aspects of will are the most important, but the whole group is not a scientific classification, since it was made up by including everything non-material which was left over after body, feelings, perceptions, and consciousness had been separated out. Nor are they abstract elements like conation in modern psychology, but concrete states, in which the element of will or effort is prominent.

What in this connection is the group of the aggregates? Contact (i.e. any sense stimulus), volition, reasoning,

reflection, joy, one-pointedness of mind ; the faculties of faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration, wisdom, and life-force ; right view, right resolve, right effort, right mindfulness, right concentration ; the powers [1] of faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration, wisdom, modesty, disgust at things objectionable ; absence of greed, of hatred, of stupidity, of greed, of desire to harm ; right view, modesty, disgust at things objectionable ; serenity of body and of mind ; lightness of body and of mind ; mildness of body and of mind ; readiness of body and of mind ; the states of being practised in body and in mind ; straightness of body and of mind ; mindfulness, self-consciousness, calm, introspection, exertion, non-perplexity, or in this connection any other non-material things that arise by way or cause except the groups of feeling, perception, and consciousness.

Dhammasangaṇi, 62.

XXXI

KARMA AND ITS RESULTS

The doctrine of karma, "action", is the same in principle as the teaching that whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap. But the characteristic karma doctrine also implies the converse, that all that a man reaps in pleasant or unpleasant experience is due to what he has sown. Within the limits of one life, however, this is not always borne out by experience, but it can be made plausible through the belief in transmigration

[1] On the distinction between faculties and powers see p. 91.

and a succession of lives. Buddhism, both through its emphasis on the importance of moral action and on account of its having set aside the conception of a God as a creator, was able to work out a consistent moral scheme.

The brahmin student Subha, son of Todeyya, came to the Lord, and having exchanged courteous and pleasant greetings with him sat down at one side. As he sat there he said to the Lord, "Now what, sir Gotama, is the cause, what is the occasion why lowness and greatness are seen among human beings, among those who have been born as human beings, for they are found to be short-lived and long-lived, of bad and good health, bad and good looking, weak and mighty, poor and wealthy, of low and high family, stupid and intelligent. Now what is the cause? . . ."

"Beings, student, have their own karma, they are heirs of karma, their origin is karma, they have karma as their kinsman, as their resource. Karma distributes beings, that is, according to lowness and greatness."

"I do not understand the meaning of this utterance so concisely expressed and not analysed at length. It would be well if sir Gotama would teach me the Doctrine so that I might understand the meaning of this utterance so concisely expressed." "Then listen, student, reflect well on it, I will speak." "Even so, sir," Subha replied.

The Lord said, "There is the case of a person, a woman or a man, who takes life, cruel with blood-stained hands, given to striking and killing, and without mercy to living things. When that karma is worked out and

completed, with the dissolution of the body after death, he is reborn in a state of misery, in an unhappy destiny, in a state of punishment, or in hell ; or if he is not thus reborn, but attains the state of man, wherever he is reborn he is short-lived. This path, student, tends to shortness of life, namely that of one who takes life, who is cruel with blood-stained hands, given to striking and killing, and without mercy to living creatures.

"There is the case of a person, a woman or a man, who has put aside and refrains from taking life, who has laid aside the use of a stick or a knife, and dwells modest, full of kindliness, and compassionate for the welfare of all living things. When that karma is worked out and completed, with the dissolution of the body after death, he is reborn in a state of happiness or the world of heaven, or if he is not reborn in heaven but attains the state of man, wherever he is reborn he is long lived. This path, student, tends to length of life, namely that of one who has put aside and refrains from taking life, who has laid aside the use of a stick or a knife, who dwells modest, full of kindliness, and compassionate for the welfare of all living things.

"There is the case of a person, a woman or a man, who is given to hurting with hand or clod or stick or knife. . . . He is reborn in hell or, if he attains the state of man, wherever he is reborn he has much ill-health. . . .

"There is the case of a person, a woman or a man, who is not given to hurting with hand or clod or stick or knife. . . . He is reborn in heaven or, if he attains the state of man, he has good health. . . .

"There is the case of a person, a woman or a man, who is wrathful and very turbulent, who even if little is said gets angry and furious, malevolent and hostile, and shows anger, hatred, and resentment. . . . He is reborn in hell or, if he attains the state of man, he is bad looking. . . .

"There is the case of a person, a woman or a man, who is not wrathful and turbulent. . . . He is reborn in heaven or, if he attains the state of man, he is attractive. . . .

"There is the case of a person, a woman or a man, who is jealous-minded, who is jealous, ill-tempered, and harbours jealousy at the gain, honour, reverence, esteem, respect, and worship shown to others. . . . He is reborn in hell or, if he attains the state of man, he is of little power. . . .

"There is the case of a person, a woman or a man, who is not jealous-minded. . . . He is reborn in heaven or, if he attains the state of man, he is of great power. . . .

"There is the case of a person, a woman or a man, who does not give anything to an ascetic or a brahmin, who gives no food, drink, clothes, carriage, garlands, scents, unguents, bed, lodging, or material for lamps. . . . He is reborn in hell or, if he attains the state of man, he is poor. . . .

"There is the case of a person, a woman or a man, who gives to an ascetic or a brahmin. . . . He is reborn in heaven or, if he attains the state of man, he is of great wealth. . . .

"There is the case of a person, a woman or a man, who

is hard and haughty, does not salute one who should be saluted, does not rise for one who should be so treated, does not offer a seat to one worthy of it, does not make way for one who is worthy of it, does not honour, reverence, esteem, or worship those who should be so treated. . . . He is reborn in hell, or if he attains the state of man, he is born in a low family. . . .

"There is the case of one, a woman or a man, who is not hard and haughty. . . . He is reborn in heaven or, if he attains the state of man, he is born in a high family. . . .

"There is the case of one, a woman or a man, who when visiting an ascetic or a brahmin does not question him about what is good, what is bad, what is blameless or not, what should be followed or not, what, if he does it, will lead to misfortune, and sorrow for a long time. . . . He is reborn in hell or, if he attains the state of man, he is stupid. . . .

"There is the case of a person, a woman or a man, who when visiting an ascetic or a brahmin questions him about what is good . . . and what, if he does it, will lead to good fortune and happiness for a long time. . . . He is reborn in heaven or, if he attains the state of a man, he is very intelligent. . . .

"Thus, student, beings have their own karma, they are heirs of karma, their origin is karma, they have karma as their kinsman, as their resource. Karma distributes beings, that is, according to lowness and greatness."

Cūla-kammavibhanga-s., *Majjhima*, iii, 202.

XXXII

FOUR KINDS OF KARMA

A further elaboration of the theory of moral action as one of cause and effect is here given, but it is silent on the fundamental doctrine, the winning of release. Moral action is indispensable for the religious life, but the aim according to Buddhist theory is neither to heap up good karma nor to neutralize bad. This is seen in discussions with the Jains, p. 189. The aim is to eradicate the vicious principles, the bonds or fetters that produce bad action, and then the way is clear for developing the faculties that result in full knowledge. The same fourfold classification of karma is found in Vyāsa's commentary on the *Yoga-sūtras*, iv, 7, and is an example of several features common to the Yoga system and Buddhism.

These four kinds of actions, Puṇṇa, have been independently realized by me with higher knowledge and preached. What are the four? There is black action with black ripening, white action with white ripening, black and white action with black and white ripening, and action neither black nor white with neither black nor white ripening, which tends to the destruction of action.

What action is black with black ripening? In this case a person produces an injurious accumulation of body, speech, and mind, and hence is born in an injurious world. There he is affected by injurious impressions, and feels injurious feeling extremely painful, such as do those beings that are in hell. Thus the rebirth of a creature is due to the creature. It is through what he does that he is reborn and impressions affect one thus reborn. Thus I say, Puṇṇa, that beings are the heirs of their action. This is called black action with black ripening.

And what action is white with white ripening? In this case a person produces a non-injurious accumulation of body, speech, and mind, and hence is born in a non-injurious world. There he is affected by non-injurious impressions and feels non-injurious feeling extremely pleasant, such as do the Subhakiṇṇa-gods[1]. . . This is called white action with white ripening.

And what is black and white action with black and white ripening? In this case a person produces an accumulation of body, speech, and mind which is both injurious and non-injurious, and hence is born in a world both injurious and non-injurious. There he is affected by both injurious and non-injurious impressions and feels both injurious and non-injurious feeling, a mixture of pleasant and painful, such as is felt by human beings, some gods, and some beings in states of punishment.

And what is neither black nor white action with neither black nor white ripening, which tends to the destruction of action? In this case the resolve to abandon black action with black ripening, the resolve to abandon white action with white ripening, and the resolve to abandon black and white action with black and white ripening is called neither black nor white action with neither black nor white ripening, which tends to the destruction of action. These four actions, Puṇṇa, have been independently realized by me with higher knowledge and preached.

Kukkuravatika-s., *Majjhima*, i, 389.

[1] Lit. wholly-bright gods, the inhabitants of the ninth heaven of the world of form.

XXXIII

BUDDHA AS ORIGINATOR OF THE WAY

The following passages show how early Buddhism conceived the nature of a Buddha. He is the originator of the saving knowledge, and as Buddha he possesses certain powers, but here the only difference from the arahat asserted of him is that he originated the knowledge of the Way, which all through his teaching can come to possess.

Thus have I heard : At one time Ānanda was living at Rājagaha in the Veluvana monastery in the Kalandaka-nivāpa, soon after the Lord had attained Nirvāṇa. At that time the Magadha king Ajātasattu, son of the Videha woman, was having Rājagaha put into a state of defence, as he was suspicious of king Pajjota.[1] Now Ānanda having dressed in the morning took his bowl and robe and entered Rājagaha for alms. Then he thought, " It is too early yet to go for alms, what if I go to the works [2] of the brahmin Gopaka Moggallāna and visit him." . . . Gopaka Moggallāna saw Ānanda coming from a distance and said to Ānanda, " Come, sir Ānanda, welcome, sir Ānanda, it is long since sir Ānanda undertook to come here. May sir Ānanda sit down, here is a seat ready." The elder Ānanda sat on the prepared seat, and the brahmin took a low seat and sat at one side.

[1] King of the neighbouring Kosala country.
[2] Some of the works undertaken in defence of the city.

As he sat there he said to Ānanda, " Is there, Ānanda, a single monk who is entirely and completely endowed with all those qualities with which sir Gotama, the arahat, the all-enlightened, was endowed ? " " There is no single monk, brahmin, who is entirely and completely endowed with all those qualities with which the Lord, the arahat, the all-enlightened, was endowed. For the Lord was the producer of the unproduced Way, the originator of the unoriginated Way, the preacher of the unpreached Way, the knower, cognizer, perceiver of the Way. But now the disciples abide following the Way, being endowed with it afterwards."

Gopaka-moggallāna-s., *Majjhima*, iii, 7.

XXXIV

BUDDHA AS OMNISCIENT

There is never any attempt to treat Buddha as divine. At the same time he is placed higher than any of the gods, for they are asserted to be neither omniscient nor almighty nor permanent in their heavenly stations. Everything is denied of them that would make them gods in the true sense. The omniscience which Buddha disclaims is that which the Jains (as the Buddhists understood them) claimed for their leader (p. 189). Omniscience in the sense that Buddha can include anything he chooses in the " net of his knowledge " did come to be asserted of him, but such knowledge has nothing to do with release. The only essential knowledge is the threefold knowledge, which is open to all.

The wanderer Vacchagotta said to the Lord, " I have heard that the ascetic Gotama is all-knowing and all-seeing, and professes complete knowledge and insight,

that whether he is walking, standing, sleeping, or awake, knowledge and insight are ever and continuously present. Do those who say thus speak correctly about the Lord and not slander him falsely in explaining the truth of the matter? Is it a view in accordance with the Doctrine that does not result in a reprehensible position?" "They who say thus, Vaccha, do not speak correctly about me, they slander me baselessly and falsely."

"Well, how in explaining shall we speak correctly about the Lord and not slander him falsely?" "One would speak correctly about me and not slander me falsely in explaining the truth of the matter, and it would be a view in accordance with the Doctrine not resulting in a reprehensible position, who should say, 'The ascetic Gotama has the threefold knowledge.' For, Vaccha, as far back as I wish I remember various previous births, namely one birth, two[1] . . . As far as I wish with my divine, purified vision surpassing human vision I see beings passing away and being reborn, low and exalted, fair and ugly, with happy or unhappy destinies. . . . With the destruction of the āsavas I have realized and attained with higher knowledge release of mind and release of wisdom free from the āsavas and abide in it. One would speak correctly . . . who should say the ascetic Gotama has the threefold knowledge."

Thereat the wanderer Vacchagotta said to the Lord, "Is there, Gotama, any householder, not having cast off the fetters of a householder, who with the dissolution of the body has made an end of pain?" "There is

[1] These passages are abbreviated in the original. They are meant to be expanded as in the passage on p. 66.

no householder, Vaccha, not having cast off the fetters of a householder, who with the dissolution of the body has made an end of pain."

"But is there, any householder, not having cast off the fetters of a householder, who with the dissolution of the body has reached heaven?" "Not merely one, Vaccha, nor even a hundred or two, three, four, or five hundred, but far more householders who have not cast off the fetters of a householder, with the dissolution of the body have reached heaven." "Is there any Ājīvaka who with the dissolution of the body has made an end of pain?" "There is none, Vaccha." "But is there any Ājīvaka who with the dissolution of the body has reached heaven?" "When I go back in memory, Vaccha, for ninety-one cycles of existence, I do not know of any Ājīvaka who reached heaven except one, and he was one who held the doctrine of karma and the result of actions." "That being so, Gotama, that heretical position is vain even for getting to heaven." "Even so, Vaccha, that heretical position is vain even for getting to heaven."

Tevijja-vacchagotta-s., *Majjhima*, i, 482.

XXXV

BUDDHA AS TATHĀGATA

An important epithet of Buddha is Tathāgata, lit. "having thus gone or having attained such a state". This allows of various applications, and in the following passage we find some of the fanciful interpretations put on the term. One of the

commonest interpretations is "he who has thus gone like previous Buddhas", but we cannot be sure that this sense was original. The term is also used of any released person in the sense of "having thus gone to release" (p. 204). It is also the term by which Buddha when speaking in the discourses, as here, is made to refer to himself.

A case occurs, Chunda, in which wanderers of other schools might say thus, "Concerning the past the ascetic Gotama professes unbounded knowledge and insight, but not about the future, namely that it is so and why it is so." Thus they think that knowledge and insight intended for one thing should be professed by means of knowledge and insight intended for something else, like completely ignorant persons. Concerning the past, Chunda, the Tathāgata has cognition that remembers what has existed. As far back as he wishes he remembers. Concerning the future the Tathāgata's knowledge born of enlightenment arises: "this is my last birth, now there is no coming to be again."

If, Chunda, the past is not true, not real, and not tending to profit [1] the Tathāgata does not expound it. If the past is true and real but not tending to profit [2] the Tathāgata does not expound it. If the past is true, real, and tending to profit, then the Tathāgata knows the time for expounding the question. (And so of the future and the present.) Thus, Chunda, in matters concerning the past, future, and present the Tathāgata

[1] Like the stories of the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, says the commentary.

[2] Stories about kings, etc., says the commentary, probably the Purāṇas.

speaks at the right time, speaks truthfully, speaks profitably, he speaks of the Doctrine and Discipline. Therefore he is called Tathāgata.[1]

Whatever, Chunda, in the world with its gods, Māra, Brahmā, among beings with ascetics, brahmins, gods, and men, has been seen, heard, perceived, known, attained, sought after, or pondered over in mind, all that has been comprehended by the Tathāgata. Therefore he is called Tathāgata.[2]

Whatever, between the night when the Tathāgata comprehends supreme perfect enlightenment and the night when he attains Nirvāṇa with the element of Nirvāṇa which is without a remainder of rebirth, whatever in that interval he speaks or converses about or expounds, all that is thus and not otherwise. Therefore he is called Tathāgata.

As the Tathāgata speaks, thus he does. As he does, thus he speaks. Hence as speaking thus doing, as doing thus speaking, therefore he is called Tathāgata.[3]

In the world with its gods, Māra, Brahmā, among beings with ascetics, brahmins, gods, and men, the Tathāgata is the Master, the unmastered, the complete seer, the controller. Therefore he is called Tathāgata.

Pāsādika-s., *Dīgha*, iii, 134.

[1] The commentary says *Tathāgata* is here for *Tathāgada* "he who has thus spoken". "As it ought to be spoken thus he speaks."

[2] Here *Tathāgata* is taken literally: "as it has been gone by the world, so by his thus going he is Tathāgata."

[3] Here *tathā* is taken in the sense of "thus" as opposed to what is not thus or false. Hence Lord Chalmers's translation of the term as "Truth-finder".

XXXVI

THE POWERS AND CONFIDENCES OF A TATHĀGATA

The following lists are probably classifications that have been drawn up by Abhidhamma schools and put into the form of a discourse. They are also found in schools of Sanskrit Buddhism, and were preserved by the later Mahāyāna schools, who made them the basis for their theories of the nature of a Buddha. It will be seen that the powers culminate in the three knowledges, which every arahat finally attains.

These are the ten powers of the Tathāgata, endowed with which the Tathāgata claims his place as leader, roars the lion's roar in assemblies, and turns the Supreme Wheel. What are the ten?

(1) Herein the Tathāgata rightly knows what is possible as possible and what is impossible as impossible.[1] . . .

(2) Again the Tathāgata rightly knows the ripening of karmas past, present, and future, as determined and caused. . . .

(3) He rightly knows whither all paths (of conduct) lead.[2] . . .

(4) He rightly knows the nature of the universe with its many and various groups and elements.[3] . . .

[1] e.g. he knows that it is impossible for one of right views to look upon any compound (*sankhāra*) as permanent, but it is possible for an ordinary man to do so.

[2] e.g. that one way will lead to hell, another to rebirth as an animal, etc.

[3] i.e. the groups, elements, and bases into which the nature of things is classified.

(5) He rightly knows the various dispositions of individuals.[1] . . .

(6) He rightly knows the characteristics of the faculties of other beings and individuals.[2] . . .

(7) He rightly knows the impurity or purity and growth of the trances, releases, concentrations, and attainments. . . .

(8) He rightly knows his various kinds of previous existences, one birth, etc.[3] . . .

(9) With his divine eye, purified and superhuman, he sees beings passing away and being reborn according to their karma. . . .

(10) With the destruction of the āsavas he has of himself in this actual life with higher knowledge realized and attained release of mind and release of wisdom free from the āsavas and abides in it. This is the (tenth) power in virtue of which the Tathāgata claims his place as leader, roars the lion's roar in assemblies, and turns the Supreme Wheel. . . .

Anyone who should say of me, who thus know and thus perceive, that the ascetic Gotama does not possess superhuman [4] qualities and a special truly noble knowledge and insight, and that he preaches a doctrine merely beaten out with logic, following out his investigations and thought out by himself, then if he does not renounce those words and that thought, and give up that view, he will find himself taken and thrown into hell. Just

[1] Whether they have base or high dispositions, etc.

[2] Their characters whether they have keen or dull faculties, etc.

[3] Given in full, p. 66.

[4] Qualities beyond the normal human faculties. This is also true of the disciple's knowledge with which he wins arahatship.

as a monk endowed with morality, concentration, and full knowledge in this very life would attain insight, I say of one with such views (as above) that if he does not renounce those words and that thought and give up that view, he will find himself taken and thrown into hell.

These are the Tathāgata's four subjects of confidence, endowed with which the Tathāgata claims his place as leader, roars the lion's roar in assembles, and turns the Supreme Wheel. What are the four?

(1) I see no sign that the rebuke, "Though you claim to be fully enlightened, you are unenlightened about these things," will be rightly uttered against me by any ascetic or brahmin or god or Māra or anyone in the world. As I do not see this sign I abide in a state of tranquillity, fearlessness, and confidence.

(2) I see no sign that the rebuke, "Though you claim to have destroyed the āsavas, these āsavas have not been destroyed," will be rightly uttered against me. . . .

(3) I see no sign that the rebuke, "Though you claim that you have stated those things that are hindrances (to the religious life), they are not really hindrances," will be rightly uttered against me. . . .

(4) I see no sign that the rebuke, "The Doctrine for the sake of which it has been taught by you does not lead to the full destruction of pain for him who does it," will be rightly uttered against me by any ascetic or brahmin or god or Māra or anyone in the world.

Mahāsīhanāda-s., *Majjhima*, i, 69.

LAYMEN

XXXVII

THE HOUSEHOLDER'S DISCIPLINE

The number of addresses to the laity is much greater than is usually supposed, for not only are the lay adherents (*upāsakas*) instructed, but householders of any caste or creed. The following well-known exhortation to Sigālaka is not a discourse in the ordinary sense, but a legend containing a poem with an enlargement of the subject-matter in prose. It is an example of a common form of composition much used by the Buddhists and, although it cannot be placed among the earliest utterances of Buddha, it shows how the community continued to recognize their duty of preaching to all, and what kind of instruction was given. There is a spell in the *Atharva-veda* which shows that "worshipping the quarters" was a well-known ceremony. It was really a spell for warding off ill luck from whatever direction it might come.

At one time the Lord was dwelling at Rājagaha in the Veluvana monastery in the Kalandaka-nivāpa. Now at that time Sigālaka, the householder's son, having risen early went out from Rājagaha and with his clothes and his hair wet was worshipping the different quarters with folded hands, the eastern quarter, the south, the west, the north, the nadir, and the zenith. Then the Lord in the morning having dressed himself took his bowl and robe and entered Rājagaha for alms. Now the Lord saw Sigālaka . . . worshipping the quarters, and on seeing him he said, "Why are you, householder's

son, worshipping the quarters ?" "My father, Lord, when he died said, 'My son, worship the quarters.' Now I, Lord, honouring, reverencing, respecting, and revering my father's word have risen early and am worshipping the quarters."

"Householder's son, in the discipline of the noble disciple the six quarters ought not be worshipped thus." "Then, sir, how in the discipline of the noble disciple ought the quarters to be worshipped ? It would be good, Lord, if the Lord would teach me the doctrine how in the discipline of the noble disciple the six quarters ought to be worshipped." "Then listen and reflect, I will speak." "Even so, Lord," Sigālaka replied.

The Lord said, "When in the noble disciple the four vices of action are put away, and in four respects he does no evil action, and does not follow six things that lead to loss of wealth, then he is removed from the fourteen vices, he covers the six quarters,[1] and gains victory in both worlds ; both this world and the next are a success for him. With the dissolution of the body after death he is born in a happy state, the world of heaven.

"What are his four vices of action that are dispelled ? Taking life is a vice of action, stealing, wrong indulgence in the passions, and falsehood. These four vices of action are put away in him." Thus said the Lord, and thereat the Happy One, the Master, spoke further :—

> "Killing, stealing, and lying are spoken of ; and also following the wives of others ; these things the wise do not commend.

[1] Covering the quarters is really a magic ceremony performed to prevent ill-luck coming from any one of the directions.

"In what four respects does he not do evil action? by following the course of passion, of hatred, of delusion, of fear, one does evil action. As the noble disciple does not follow these . . . in these four respects he does no evil action." Thus said the Lord, and thereat the Happy One, the Master, spoke further :—

> "Who transgresses the Doctrine through passion, hatred, fear, or delusion, his fame wanes like the moon in the dark half of the month.
>
> "Who transgresses not the Doctrine through passion, hatred, fear, or delusion, his fame waxes full like the moon in the light half of the month.

"What six things that lead to loss of wealth does he not follow? Addiction to carelessness in strong drink, intoxicants, and liquor; addiction to frequenting the street at untimely hours; visiting feasts; addiction to carelessness in gaming; addiction to bad friends; addiction to laziness.

"These are the six dangers in addiction to intoxicants; visible loss of wealth, increase in quarrels, as an occasion for diseases, a cause of ill fame, a producer of immodesty, a weakener of the intelligence as sixth. . . .

"There are these dangers in addiction to frequenting the street at untimely hours: he is unprotected and unguarded himself, his wife and children are unprotected and unguarded, his property is unprotected and unguarded, he is suspected in the case of misdeeds being committed, false report about him spreads, he becomes treated as responsible for many unhappy things. . . .

"There are these six dangers in going to feasts:

(he asks) where dancing is going on, singing, music, the reciting of tales, the tambour, the drum.[1] . . .

"There are these six dangers in addiction to gaming: if he wins he causes enmity, if he loses he laments his lost wealth, there is visible loss of wealth, when he attends an assembly his word is not accepted, he is despised by his friends and companions, he is not desired at weddings, as being a gambler the fellow is no good for keeping a wife. . . .

"There are these six dangers in addiction to bad friends: his friends and companions are cheats, drunkards, hard drinkers, swindlers, tricksters, men of violence. . . .

"There are these six dangers in addiction to laziness: 'It is too cold,' he says, and does not do his work; 'It is too hot, it is too late, it is too early, I am too hungry, I am too full,' and does not do his work. As he thus lives with many duties to do, his wealth not yet produced does not come in, and that which had been produced goes to destruction. . . ."

Thus said the Lord, and thereat the Happy One, the Master, spoke further:—

> "There is what is called a drinking-friend; there is one who says, 'Hail, friend'; he who is a companion in useful things is a friend.
>
> "Sleeping after sunrise, courting the wives of others, making enmities, unprofitable conduct, bad friends, and great miserliness, these six things ruin a man.
>
> "A bad friend, a bad companion, being given to bad conduct

[1] The commentary says that the danger is that he will waste his time in going to feasts and getting ready for them, and will leave his house unguarded.

(through these) in this world and the next a man is ruined. Dice and women, drink, dancing and song, dreaming in the daytime, untimely going about, bad friends, and great miserliness, these things ruin a man.

"They play with dice, they drink strong drink, they go after others' wives; associating with the low and not with the old he becomes low like the moon in the dark half of the month.

"A drinker without wealth and poor, thirsty he goes to the drinking place to drink; as though into water he sinks into debt, he will soon make no family for himself.

"It is not one whose practice is to sleep by day, who looks upon night as the time to rise, who is ever drinking and a drunkard, who is fit to live in a house.

"Too cold, too hot, too late, they say; thus their work is left undone; wealth leaves those men.

"He who recks of cold and heat no more than a straw, doing a man's deeds, he is not deprived of happiness.

"These four false friends should be known as counterfeit friends: he who takes all he can is a false friend, a counterfeit, he who merely talks, he who says what is meant to please, and he who shares practices that bring loss.

"In four respects he who takes all he can is a false friend: he takes all he can, he wants much for little, he does his duty through fear, and he is attentive for the sake of profit. . . .

"In four respects the mere talker is a false friend: he is friendly about things in the past, about things in the future, he sympathizes about things that are useless, and points out that unluckily he cannot do anything when something is wanted in the present. . . .

"In four respects he who says what is meant to please is a false friend: he advises one what is bad,

he does not advise what is good, he praises one to his face, and disparages him behind his back. . . .

"In four respects he who shares practices that bring loss is a false friend: he is his companion in addiction to strong drink, in frequenting the street at untimely hours, in going to feasts, and in addiction to gaming. . . ."

Thus said the Lord, and thereat the Happy One, the Master, spoke further:—

> "The friend who takes all he can, the friend who excels in words, he who says what is meant to please, and he who shares practices that bring loss.
>
> "Thus let the wise man[1] understanding these four false friends keep far away from them as from a dangerous road.

"These four friends should be known as good at heart: the friend who is a help, the friend who is the same in happiness and pain, the friend who shows what is profitable, and the friend who has compassion.

"In four respects the friend who is a help is to be known as good-hearted: he looks after him when he has been careless, he looks after his property when he has been careless,[2] he is a refuge in case of danger, and in cases of need (when he wants to borrow) he offers twice what he asks. . . .

"In four respects the friend who is the same in happiness and misfortune is to be known as good-hearted:

[1] The wise man throughout this discourse is he who has learnt how to worship the quarters rightly.

[2] The commentary says if he has got drunk the friend sits by him and looks after him lest his cloak should be stolen, and sees that no one robs the house.

he tells his own secret, he keeps his friend's secret, he does not desert him in misfortunes, and he even sacrifices his own life for his friend's sake. . . .

"In four respects the friend who shows what is profitable is to be known as good-hearted: he restrains him from the bad, he exhorts him to the good, he informs him about things that he has not heard of, and points out the way to heaven. . . .

"In four respects the friend who is compassionate is to be known as good-hearted: he does not rejoice at his friend's loss, he rejoices at his gain, he restrains anyone who disparages him, and commends one who praises. . . ."

Thus said the Lord, and thereat the Happy One, the Master, spoke further :—

> "The friend who is a help, the friend in happiness and misfortune, the friend who shows what is profitable, and he who is compassionate. Thus let the wise man understanding these four friends duly devote himself to them, as a mother to the child of her breast.
>
> "The wise man endowed with virtue shines like a blazing fire ; while he collects riches like a wandering bee, his riches accumulate as an anthill is heaped up. Thus having amassed riches he dwells profitably among his family.
>
> "Let him divide his riches into four parts ; he then binds his friends to his house ; with one part let him enjoy wealth, with two let him exercise his employment, and let him store up the fourth ; it will be of use when misfortunes arise.

"And how does a noble disciple cover the six quarters? These are the six quarters that should be known : the eastern quarter should be known as mother and father, the southern as the teachers, the western

as wife and children, the northern as friends and companions, the nadir as slaves and workpeople, and the zenith as ascetics and brahmins. . . .

" Now in five respects a son should minister to his mother and father as the eastern quarter: having been supported I will support them, I will do my duty to them, I will keep up the lineage of my family, I will enter upon my inheritance, and also I will set out an offering for their departed spirits. When in these five respects a son ministers to his mother and father as the eastern quarter, they sympathize with him in five respects: they restrain him from the bad, they exhort him to the good, they have him taught a craft, they find him a suitable wife, and when the time comes they hand over the inheritance. . . . Thus his eastern quarter is covered, it is calm and free from dangers.[1]

" In five respects a pupil should minister to his teachers as the southern quarter: by rising before them, by doing services for them, by listening attentively, by looking after them, and by carefully learning his craft. When in these five respects a pupil pays attention to his teachers as the southern quarter, they sympathize with him in five respects: they train him so that he is well trained, they show him how to grasp things well, they become the imparters of all the crafts to him, they tell about him among his friends and companions, and produce safety for him in the various directions. . . .

" In five respects the husband should minister to his

[1] The dangers which are thus warded off, says the commentary, are that the children may be bad and the parents good or vice versa, or both may be bad. A similar phrase is repeated for each quarter.

wife as the western quarter: by honouring her, by avoiding disrespect, by avoiding misconduct, by relinquishing his lordship, and by giving her ornaments. When in these five respects a husband pays attention to his wife as the western quarter, she sympathizes with him in five respects: she is a very orderly worker, the people of the house are well disposed, she avoids misconduct, she looks after the stores, and she is clever and diligent in all her duties. . . .

"In five respects a young man of good birth should minister to his friends and companions as the northern quarter: by liberality, affability, useful conduct, impartiality, and honesty. When in these five respects a young man ministers to his friends and companions as the northern quarter, they sympathize with him in five respects: they look after him when he has been careless, they look after his property when he had been careless, they are a refuge in case of danger, they do not desert him in misfortunes, and they show respect to the rest of his family. . . .

"In five respects a well-born man should pay attention to his slaves and workmen as the nadir: by apportioning them work according to their strength, by providing them with food and wages, by tending them in sickness, by sharing special dainties with them, and by giving them rest and holidays at the proper times. When in these five respects a well-born man ministers to his slaves and workmen as the nadir, they sympathize with him in five respects: they get up before him, they go to bed after him, they do not steal, their work is well done, and they give him a good report.

"In five respects a young man of good birth should minister to ascetics and brahmins as the zenith: by friendliness in deed, by friendliness in word, by friendliness in thought, by having the doors open for them, and by providing proper food. When in these five respects a young man of good birth ministers to ascetics and brahmins as the zenith they sympathize with him in five respects: they restrain him from the bad, they exhort him to the good, they sympathize with mind well-disposed to him, they teach him what he has not heard, they make clear what he has heard, and they point out the way to heaven. When in these five respects a young man of good birth ministers to ascetics and brahmins as the zenith, they sympathize with him in these five respects. Thus his zenith is covered, it is calm and free from dangers."

Thus said the Lord, and thereat the Happy One, the Master, spoke further:—

> "Mother and father are the eastern quarter, teachers are the southern, wife and children are the western, friends and companions are the northern, slaves and workmen are the nadir, the zenith are ascetics and brahmins. If he worships these quarters he dwells profitably among his family.
>
> "The wise man endowed with virtue, gentle and skilled in speech, of lowly conduct, not obstinate, such a one wins fame.
>
> "Energetic, not lazy, he trembles not in misfortunes, of flawless conduct, intelligent, such a one wins fame.
>
> "Friendly, a maker of friends, kind, free from avarice, guide, instructor, and adviser, such a one wins fame.
>
> "Liberality, affability, useful conduct towards others, impartiality in affairs towards each according to his worth.
>
> "Now these elements of sympathy in the world are like the lynch-pin of a chariot in making it go; without these elements

of sympathy a mother would get no respect or reverence for having a son, nor would a father.

" In so far as the wise ponder these elements of sympathy to that extent do they attain greatness and become praised."

At these words Sigālaka, the householder's son, said to the Lord : " Wonderful, Lord, wonderful, Lord. Just as if, Lord, one were to set up what had been bent down or uncover what had been hid, or show the way to one gone astray, or bring an oil-lamp into the dark so that those with eyes may see forms, even so has the Doctrine been explained by the Lord in many ways. I go, Lord, to the Lord as a refuge, I go to the Doctrine and to the Assembly of monks. May the Lord receive me as a layman from this day forth while life lasts, who have come for refuge."

Sigālovāda-s., *Dīgha*, iii, 180.

XXXVIII

THE LAYMAN'S FAST-DAY VOWS

The five moral rules for lay people, which are always binding on them, are not to take life, not to steal, not to be unchaste, not to lie, and not to drink intoxicants. These five are also the first five of the ten rules taught to novices (p. 216), and on the Fast-day the laity keep them in the strict sense in which they are kept by the monks with the addition of rules six to nine. The seventh and eighth of the novices' rules are here combined in one, so that the layman's Fast-day vows form a list of eight.

The Fast-day, monks, kept with the eight parts is of

great fruit, of great blessing, of great splendour, and of great influence. In what way is this?

Herein, monks, a noble lay disciple thus reflects: "Throughout life the arahats[1] shun and abandon taking life. Laying aside the use of a stick or a knife they live modest, full of kindliness, and compassionate for the welfare of all living creatures. I too to-day, for this night and day, shun and abandon taking life. Laying aside the use of a stick or a knife I live modest, full of kindliness, and compassionate for the welfare of all living creatures. With this part I imitate the arahats, and will keep the Fast-day. With this first part the Fast-day is kept.

"Throughout life the arahats shun and abandon taking what is not given; accepting and expecting what is given, they dwell purely and without stealing. I too to-day, for this night and day, shun and abandon taking what is not given; accepting and expecting what is given I dwell purely and without stealing. With this part I imitate the arahats, and will keep the Fast-day. . . .

"Throughout life the arahats abandoning incontinence practise continence, living apart, and avoiding the village practice of sex intercourse. I too to-day, for this night and day, abandon incontinence and practice continence, living apart, and avoiding the village practice of sex intercourse. With this part I imitate the arahats, and will keep the Fast-day. . . .

"Throughout life the arahats shun and abandon falsehood; they speak truth, they are truthful, trustworthy,

[1] Here used not in its technical sense, but of the whole Order, "the worthy ones."

and reliable, not deceiving people. I too to-day, for this night and day, shun and abandon falsehood, speaking truth, truthful, trustworthy, and reliable, not deceiving people. With this part I imitate the arahats, and will keep the Fast-day. . . .

"Throughout life the arahats shun and abandon occasions of carelessness in strong drink, intoxicants, and liquor. I too to-day, for this night and day, shun and abandon occasions of carelessness in strong drink, intoxicants, and liquor. With this part I imitate the arahats, and will keep the Fast-day. . . .

"Throughout life the arahats eat only at one mealtime, abstaining from eating at night, and avoiding untimely food. I too to-day, for this night and day, eat only at one mealtime, abstaining from eating at night, and avoiding untimely food. With this part I imitate the arahats, and will keep the Fast-day. . . .

"Throughout life the arahats refrain from occasions of dancing, singing, music, seeing shows, the use of garlands, scents, and unguents, which are objects of adornment. I too to-day, for this night and day, refrain. . . . With this part I imitate the arahats, and will keep the Fast-day. . . .

"Throughout life the arahats shunning and abandoning a high or large bed use a low bed or couches or mats of hay. I too to-day, for this night and day, shunning and abandoning a high or large bed use a low bed or a couch or a mat of hay. With this part I imitate the arahats, and will keep the Fast-day. With this eighth *part the Fast-day is kept.*"

Even so, monks, the Fast-day kept with the eight

parts is of great fruit, of great blessing, of great splendour, and of great influence.

Anguttara, iv, 248.

XXXIX

A SERMON TO LAYMEN

The discourse here given is said to have been delivered to the lay people of the village of Pāṭalī, afterwards the city of Pāṭaliputta, the modern Patna, while Buddha was on his last journey, see p. 39. The teaching in its practical morality resembles that of the *Householder's Discipline*, p. 142.

Thus have I heard: At one time the Lord was journeying among the Magadhas with a great assembly of monks, and reached the village of Pāṭalī. The laymen of Pāṭalī heard, and coming to the Lord they saluted him and sat on one side. As they sat there they said to the Lord, "Lord, may the Lord accept a rest-house." The Lord accepted by being silent. Then the laymen seeing that the Lord had accepted rose from their seats, saluted him by passing round him to the right, and went away to the rest-house. There they put the rest-house all in order, arranged seats, set up a water-pot, and placed an oil-lamp. Then they came to the Lord, saluted him, stood on one side, and said, "The rest-house, Lord, is quite prepared, the seats are arranged, a water-pot is set up, and an oil-lamp placed. Now is the time for what seems good to you."

Then in the morning the Lord dressed himself, took his bowl and robe, and went with the assembly of monks to the rest-house. On arriving there he washed his

feet, entered the rest-house, and sat down near the middle pillar looking to the east. The monks also washed their feet, entered the rest-house, and sat down near the middle pillar facing the Lord. The laymen of Pāṭalī also washed their feet, entered the rest-house, and sat down near the eastern wall looking to the west and facing the Lord.

Then the Lord addressed the laymen : "There are these five misfortunes of an immoral person, householders, through his lack of morality : in this case, householders, a person who is immoral, of immoral character, on account of his negligence incurs great loss of wealth. This is the first misfortune of an immoral person through his lack of morality. Again, householders, an evil fame is spread abroad about a person who is immoral, of immoral character. This is the second misfortune. Again, whatever assembly a person who is immoral, of immoral character, enters, whether an assembly of the warrior caste, of brahmins, of householders, or of ascetics, he lacks confidence and is confused. This is the third misfortune. Again, a person who is immoral, of immoral character, dies with his mind in confusion. This is the fourth misfortune. Again, a person who is immoral, of immoral character, with the dissolution of his body after death is reborn in a state of misery, in an unhappy destiny, in a state of punishment, or in hell. This is the fifth misfortune. These, householders, are the five misfortunes of an immoral person through his lack of morality.

"There are these five blessings, householders, of a moral person through his morality : in this case a person

who is moral, of moral character, on account of his vigilance acquires great wealth. This is the first blessing of a moral person through his morality. Again, householders, good fame is spread abroad about a person who is moral, of moral character. This is the second blessing. Again, whatever assembly a person who is moral, of moral character, enters, whether an assembly of the warrior caste, of brahmins, of householders, or of ascetics, he is confident and not confused. This is the third blessing. Again, a person who is moral, of moral character, dies without his mind being confused. This is the fourth blessing. Again, a person who is moral, of moral character, with the dissolution of the body after death is reborn in a state of happiness or the world of heaven. This is the fifth blessing. These, householders, are the five blessings of a moral person through his morality."

Then the Lord having instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened the laymen far into the night with a discourse on the Doctrine, dismissed them: "It is a lovely night, householders, now is it the time for what seems good to you." So the laymen of Pāṭalī, expressing delight and approval, rose from their seats, saluted the Lord by passing round him to the right, and went away.

Udāna, VIII, 6; *Dīgha*, ii, 84.

XL

ON HEALTH OF MIND

The following discourse is a practical application of the theory that the individual consists of five parts or groups (p. 123). This doctrine has been used as evidence for the view that the Buddhists did not believe in personal identity from birth to

birth, and also for the view, which they always denounced, that there is a permanent *ātman* behind everything. The groups are always changing, but they are continuous, and the Chain of Causation (p. 118) is intended to show how any one stage is causally related to another. Any theory that there is something behind all this is held to be superfluous, and the only problem remaining is what becomes of the individual when the groups are finally dispersed, and an answer was given even to that (cf. p. 113). Such questions are not raised here, but merely the folly of expecting to find anything permanent in the changing groups.

The householder Nakulapitā came to Sāriputta, saluted him, and sat down at one side. As he was seated there Sāriputta said to him, " Your senses are calmed, householder, the colour of your face is pure and clean. Have you heard a discourse on the Doctrine from the Lord face to face with him to-day ? " " How else could it be, reverend one ? I have just now been sprinkled by the Lord with the nectar of a discourse on the Doctrine."

" And in what way have you been sprinkled by the Lord with the nectar of a discourse on the Doctrine ? " " Well, reverend one, I went to the Lord, saluted him, and sat down at one side. As I sat there I said to the Lord, ' I am decrepit, Lord, old, aged, advanced in years and life : I have reached my span of life, ill in body and constantly ailing. Only occasionally, Lord, do I see the Lord and the worshipful monks. May the Lord exhort me, may the Lord instruct me, so that it may long be for my welfare and happiness.'

" Thereat the Lord said to me, ' Even so, householder, even so, householder, ill is your body, advanced in life and overcome with age. For one who bears this body

about, and who should claim even a moment's good health, what is that but folly? Therefore, householder, you should thus train yourself: "Though I am ill in body my mind shall not be ill." Even so should you train yourself.' Even thus did the Lord sprinkle me with the nectar of a discourse on the Doctrine."

"But, householder, did it not occur to you to question the Lord further, asking in what respect one is ill in body and ill in mind, or in what respect one is ill in body and not ill in mind?" "We would come a long way, reverend one, to understand from the reverend Sāriputta the meaning of that saying." "Then listen, householder, reflect on it well, I will speak." "Even so," the householder Nakulapitā replied.

The reverend Sāriputta said: "How, householder, is one ill in body and ill in mind? Herein an unlearned common person, who does not perceive the noble ones, who is unskilled and untrained in the noble Doctrine, who does not perceive good men, who is unskilled and untrained in the Doctrine of good men, looks upon his body as his self, thinking that his self consists of body or that his body is in his self or that his self is in his body, being possessed by the thought, 'I am body, body is mine.' The body of one possessed by this thought changes and becomes otherwise, and through the change and alteration of his body grief, lamentation, pain, dejection, and despair arise.

"He looks upon feeling as his self. . . .

"He looks upon perception as his self. . . .

"He looks upon the aggregates (the mental and other activities) as his self. . . .

"He looks upon consciousness as his self. . . .

"The consciousness of one possessed by this thought changes and becomes otherwise, and through the change and alteration of consciousness grief, lamentation, pain, dejection, and despair arise. Even so, householder, is one ill in body and ill in mind.

"And how, householder, is one ill in body and not ill in mind? Herein a learned noble disciple, who perceives the noble ones, who is skilled and well-trained in the noble Doctrine, does not look upon his body as his self, not thinking that his self consists of his body, nor that his body is in his self, nor that his self is in his body, not being possessed by the thought, 'I am body, body is mine.' The body of one not possessed by this thought changes and becomes otherwise, but through the change and alteration of his body grief, lamentation, pain, dejection, and despair do not arise.

"He does not look upon feeling as his self. . . .

"He does not look upon perception as his self. . . .

"He does not look upon the aggregates as his self. . . .

"He does not look upon consciousness as his self, not thinking that his self consists of consciousness, nor that consciousness is in his self, nor that his self is in consciousness, and he is not possessed by the thought, 'I am consciousness, consciousness is mine.' The consciousness of one not possessed by this thought changes and becomes otherwise, but through the change and alteration of his consciousness grief, lamentation, pain, dejection, and despair do not arise. Even so, householder, is one ill in body but not ill in mind."

Saṃyutta, iii, 2.

XLI

INSTRUCTION FOR A SICK LAYMAN

The question has been raised whether a layman can attain final release. Release is usually represented as the end of a long course of training, but if longing for the world can be quenched there is no question about the time required. In the discourse on the *Stations of Mindfulness* (p. 78) the time may be reduced even to seven days. We see here in what sense it is considered possible for a layman to attain that state.

At one time the Lord dwelt among the Sakyas at Kapilavatthu in the Banyan Park, and a number of monks were making a robe for the Lord, as the Lord, at the end of the three months [1] when the robe was finished, was going to set forth on his journeying. Mahānāma the Sakya heard of this, so he came to the Lord, saluted him, and sat down at one side. Thus seated he said to the Lord, "I have heard that a number of monks are making a robe for the Lord, as the Lord, at the end of the three months when the robe is finished, will set forth on his journeying. Now, Lord, we have never heard from the Lord face to face or received instruction how a discreet layman who is sick, suffering, and very ill, ought to be admonished by a discreet layman."

"A discreet layman, Mahānāma, who is sick, suffering, and very ill, ought to be thus consoled by a discreet layman with the four consoling doctrines: '(1) Be consoled, friend, that you have perfect faith in the

[1] This was the three months of the rainy season, when travelling was impossible. The rest of the year was spent in journeying from place to place and preaching, as prescribed in the sending out of the disciples, p. 33.

Buddha that he is the Lord, the arahat, the all-enlightened, endowed with knowledge and conduct, the Happy One, knower of the world, unsurpassed charioteer of men to be tamed, teacher of gods and men, Buddha, the Lord.

"'(2) Be consoled, friend, that you have perfect faith in the Doctrine, that the Doctrine has been well preached by the Lord, actually seen, not delayed, inviting one to come and see, leading on, to be known by the wise each for himself.

"'(3) Be consoled, friend, that you have perfect faith in the Order, that the Lord's Order of disciples walks rightly, walks straightly, walks properly, walks correctly, namely the four pairs, the eight men [1]; this is the Lord's Order of disciples. Worthy of sacrifices, worthy of hospitality, worthy of offerings, worthy of being saluted with clasped hands, it is a supreme field of merit for the world.

"'(4) Be consoled, friend, that you have perfect faith in the moral rules beloved by the noble ones, that they are whole, unbroken, unspotted, unblemished, giving freedom, praised by the wise, untainted, and tending to concentration.' Thus should a sick layman be addressed with the four consolations.

"'Have you, friend, any longing for your father and mother?' If he should say he has a longing for his father and mother, he should be thus addressed: 'Friend, you are subject to death. Though you have a longing for your father and mother, yet you will die; even though you have no longing for your father and mother,

[1] They are all in one of the four stages of the Way. Each stage is divided into the Way and the Fruit, forming eight classes or four pairs.

yet you will die. It would be well, friend, to put away longing for father and mother.'

"If he should say he has put away longing for his father and mother, he should be thus addressed : 'Have you, friend, any longing for wife and children ?' If he should say he has, he should be thus addressed : 'Friend, you are subject to death. Though you have a longing for wife and children . . . and even though you have no longing for wife and children, yet you will die. It would be well, friend, to put away longing for wife and children.'

"If he should say that he has put away longing for wife and children, he should be thus addressed : 'Have you, friend, any longing for the five human pleasures of sense ?' If he should say he has, he should be thus addressed : 'More excellent and exalted than human pleasures of sense are divine pleasures. It would be well for you friend, to raise your mind above human pleasures and fix it on the four great Kings.'"

(From the heaven of the four great kings, the lowest of the heavens, the disciple is induced to raise his mind in stages to the heaven of the Thirty-three gods, the Yāma gods, the Tusita gods, the Nimmānarati gods, and Paranimmitavasavattin gods, till he fixes it on the world of Brahmā.)

"If he should say that his mind is fixed on the Brahma-world, he should be thus addressed : 'The Brahma-world also, friend, is impermanent, unstable, and limited to the individual. It would be well, friend, to raise your mind above the Brahma-world and collect it on the cessation of the individual.'

"If he should say that his mind is raised above the Brahma-world, and that he collects his mind on the cessation of the individual, then when a layman has been thus addressed, Mahānāma, I say that there is no difference between him and a monk whose mind is released from the āsavas, that is between release and release."

Saṃyutta, v, 408.

XLII

DISCOURSE ON THE GREAT BLESSINGS

The belief in luck, good fortune which occurs without an apparent cause, is expressed by the word *mangala*, a piece of good luck or, to use a word belonging to a different sphere of thought, a blessing. It will be seen how the idea of good fortune looked on as due to unaccountable chance is raised to the notion that real good fortune depends on the individual's own conduct. All but the three last verses is teaching for the lay disciple.

Thus have I heard: At one time the Lord was dwelling at Sāvatthī in the Jetavana monastery in the park of Anāthapiṇḍika. Then a certain divinity of supreme beauty as the night was departing illuminated the whole of the Jetavana, and approaching the Lord saluted him and stood on one side. Then standing on one side the divinity addressed the Lord with a verse:—

"Many gods and men have thought about blessings, longing for welfare. Tell us a supreme blessing."

THE LORD: Not consorting with the ignorant but consorting with the wise, and reverencing those worthy of reverence: that is a supreme blessing.

Dwelling in a fit region, the merit of former good deeds, and right resolution about oneself; that is a supreme blessing.

Great learning and skill and well-trained moral discipline, speech that is well spoken: that is a supreme blessing.

Caring for mother and father, cherishing wife and children, and undisturbed occupations: that is a supreme blessing.

Giving alms, following the teaching, cherishing one's relatives, blameless actions: that is a supreme blessing.

Shunning evil and refraining from it, restraint in strong drink, watchfulness over one's thoughts: that is a supreme blessing.

Reverence and gentleness, contentment and gratitude, hearing the Doctrine at due times: that is a supreme blessing.

Patience and mildness, going to see the ascetics, conversation on the Doctrine: that is a supreme blessing.

Austerity and the religious life, insight into the Noble Truths, and the realizing of Nirvāṇa: that is a supreme blessing.

He whose mind is not shaken by contact with things of the world is free from sorrow, free from stain, and at peace: that is a supreme blessing.

They that do such things are in all ways undefeated; in all ways they go to happiness: that is their supreme blessing.

Mahāmangala-s., *Sutta-nipāta*, II, 4.

XLIII

THE REALITY OF AN AFTER LIFE

The doctrine which is opposed in the following discourse is that attributed in other places to Ajita Kesakambalin, one of the six rival teachers, but the only part of it dealt with here is that which denies the existence of another world. "Both ignorant and learned with the destruction of the body are cut off and destroyed. They do not exist after death." The argument in the following is that even if we do not know whether there

is an after life or not, yet it is better to wager that there is. He who assumes it will behave in such a way as to be happier in this world, and even if there is no after life he loses nothing at death. If there is, he certainly gains. The position is exactly that of Pascal's famous argument of the wager. *Pensées*, ed. Brunschvicg, § 233.

The Lord said to the Brahmin householders of the village of Sālā, " Have you, householders, a pleasant teacher in whom you have faith and confidence ? " " We have not, sir." " As you have no pleasant teacher, you ought to embrace and practise this certain doctrine. If you take it and embrace it, it will be for your lasting welfare and happiness. And what is this certain doctrine ?

" There are some ascetics and brahmins who hold and maintain that there is nothing given, sacrificed, or offered, there is no ripening of the fruit of good or bad actions. there is neither this world nor another world, there is neither mother nor father, no apparitional beings, there are in the world no ascetics and brahmins who have gone and followed the right way, and who of themselves have realized the world with higher knowledge and proclaim it. There are some ascetics and brahmins directly opposed in doctrine to these, who say that there is something given . . . that there is another world . . . What do you think, householders, are not these ascetics and brahmins directly opposed to one another ? " " Even so, sir."

" In this case, householders, it is to be expected that those ascetics and brahmins who hold and maintain that there is nothing given . . . that there is no other world . . . will abandon the three good things, good

behaviour in deed, word, and thought, and will embrace and practise the three bad things, evil behaviour in deed, word, and thought. And why? Because they do not see the danger and folly and depravity of bad things, nor the blessing of renunciation and the purity of good things. Though there is indeed another world, his view is that there is not, and this is his false view. Though there is indeed another world, he decides that there is not, and this is his false resolve. Though there is indeed another world, he asserts that there is not, and this is his false speech. Though there is indeed another world, he says there is not, and acts directly contrary to those arahats who have a knowledge of other worlds. Though there is indeed another world, he instructs others that there is not, and this is his instruction of false doctrine. With this instruction of false doctrine he exalts himself and disparages others. Thus his former virtue is destroyed and immorality is produced, and there results this false view, false resolve, false speech, this instruction of false doctrine opposed to the noble ones, this exaltation of himself and disparaging of others. Even so these many bad things arise on account of his false view.

"In this case, householders, an intelligent man reflects thus: 'If there is no other world, then this individual with the dissolution of the body will get good luck for himself, but if there is another world, this individual with the dissolution of the body after death will be reborn in an unhappy state in a place of punishment, in hell.' If you like, suppose there is no other world, or suppose the words of these ascetics and brahmins to be

true. Yet this individual gets blamed by the intelligent even in this life for holding false views and for being a nihilist. But if there really is another world, this individual has the unlucky throw [1] in both cases, as he gets blamed by the intelligent even in this life for being of false views, and with the dissolution of the body after death he will be reborn in an unhappy state, in a place of punishment, in hell. Thus this certain doctrine is badly taken and embraced, he persists in being one-sided, and he gives up a sound position.

" In this case it is to be expected that those ascetics and brahmins who hold and maintain . . . that there is another world . . . will abandon the three bad things, evil behaviour in deed, word, and thought, and will embrace and practise the three good things, good behaviour in deed, word, and thought. And why? Because they see the danger and folly and depravity of bad things, and the blessing of renunciation and purity of good things . . . Thus his former vice is destroyed and virtue is produced, and there results this right view, right resolve, right speech, this instruction in the true doctrine not opposed to the noble ones, his avoidance of exalting himself and disparaging others. Even so these many good things arise on account of his right view.

" In this case, householders, an intelligent man reflects thus : ' If there is another world, then this individual with the dissolution of the body after death will be born in a happy state in the world of heaven.' If you like,

[1] *Kaliggaho*, the metaphor is from dicing, *kali* being the most unlucky throw of the dice, just as below, *kaṭaggaha* is winning the lucky throw of the dice. Pascal uses the metaphor of tossing the coin, heads or tails, *croix ou pile*.

suppose there is no other world, or suppose the words of these ascetics and brahmins to be true. Yet this individual gets praised by the intelligent even in this life for holding right views and for believing in the real. But if there really is another world, the individual wins the lucky throw (of the dice) in both cases, as he gets the praise of the intelligent even in this life, and with the dissolution of the body after death he will be reborn in a happy state in the world of heaven. Thus this certain doctrine is well taken and embraced, he persists in regarding both sides, and he gives up a bad position."

Apaṇṇaka-s., *Majjhima*, i, 401.

XLIV

LAYMEN AND THE ORDER

The following is from the *Anguttara-nikāya*, a collection of discourses in which the matter is given numerically. Everything is arranged in ones, twos, threes, etc., and the discourses represent the industrious classifications of the monks rather than living sermons.

These seven things, monks, tend to the deterioration of a layman. What are the seven?

He neglects seeing the monks; he is careless about hearing the true Doctrine; he does not learn higher morality; he is given to being dissatisfied with the monks, both the elders, the novices, and those between; he listens to the Doctrine with hostile mind, looking for faults; he seeks persons suitable for gifts outside the Order; and favours them. These, monks, are the seven things that tend to the deterioration of a layman.

These seven things, monks, tend to the non-deterioration of a layman. What are the seven? He does not neglect seeing the monks; he is not careless about hearing the true Doctrine; he learns higher morality; he is given to being well-disposed to the monks, both the elders, the novices, and those between; he listens to the Doctrine without hostile mind, not looking for faults; he does not seek persons suitable for gifts outside the Order; and gives his favours here.

These, monks, are the seven things that tend to the non-deterioration of a layman.

Anguttara, iv, 25.

OTHER SCHOOLS

XLV

WHAT IS A BRAHMIN?

The threefold knowledge (*tevijjā*) to the brahmins meant the knowledge of the three Vedas. To the Buddhist it meant the three knowledges attained at enlightenment with the destruction of the āsavas (p. 67). The claim of the brahmins to be the highest caste, their possession of a special knowledge of salvation in the Three Vedas, and their theory of sacrifice were the three points of Buddhist attack. The fact of caste was not denied. The Buddhists even formed a rival theory of its origin, and placed the warrior caste, to which Buddha belonged, above the brahminical. It was only within the Order that the individual lost his "name and clan". But against the brahmin theory, which in the law-books graded punishments according to caste, they protested by making morality and wisdom more fundamental than caste, and they claimed to possess the threefold knowledge more truly than the brahmins. The following dialogue can scarcely be held to be a fair statement of the argument on both sides. Soṇadaṇḍa is merely made to concede all that is asked, but at least the Buddhist position is made clear.

The Lord said to the brahmin Soṇadaṇḍa, "With how many things, brahmin, is a man endowed whom brahmins call a brahmin, and who, if he should call himself a brahmin, would speak rightly and not fall into untruth?" Then the brahmin Soṇadaṇḍa thought, "Really, this is what I wanted and longed for and wished and desired, when I thought, would that the ascetic

Gotama might ask me a question about my own teaching of the three Vedas ; really I shall be able to satisfy his mind by expounding his question, and now he is asking me a question about my own teaching of the three Vedas. Really I shall be able to satisfy his mind by expounding his question."

So the brahmin Soṇadaṇḍa straightened his body, looked round at the assembly, and said to the Lord, " A man endowed with five things, sir Gotama, brahmins call a brahmin, and if he should call himself a brahmin he would speak rightly and not fall into untruth. What are the five ? (1) Herein a brahmin is well born on both sides from his mother and father, he is of pure descent, and of clear and unblemished birth as far back as the seventh generation of his ancestors. (2) He is a teacher,[1] knows by heart the religious verses (*mantra*), has mastered the three Vedas, he is an expounder word by word of the ritual with its vocabulary, of the analysis of letters, and of tradition as the fifth, and he is complete in secular science [2] and the knowledge of the marks of a great man. (3) He is beautiful, fair to look at, gracious, endowed with the highest beauty of colour, of excellent colour and excellent strength, not inferior in looks. (4) He is virtuous, of developed virtue, endowed with developed virtue. (5) He is learned and wise, and the first or second of those who hold out the sacrificial ladle. It is one endowed with these five things, sir Gotama, whom

[1] *Ajjhāyaka*, Skt. *adhyāpaka* ; the Pali Text Soc. Dict. derives it from an imaginary *adhyāyaka* ; *adhyāya* exists, but it means " reading ". The Pāli scholastics scornfully made it mean " one who does not meditate ".

[2] *Lokāyata*, this is probably what it meant to Soṇadaṇḍa, but the term has become applied to a system of materialism.

brahmins call a brahmin, and if he should call himself a brahmin, he would speak rightly and not fall into untruth."

"But, brahmin, is it possible to set aside one of these five things, and to call one a brahmin who is endowed with four of them, and for such a one who calls himself a brahmin to speak rightly and not fall into untruth?" "It is possible, sir Gotama. Of these five let us set aside colour. For what will colour do? In being well born . . . (and having the other three qualities) he would speak rightly and not fall into untruth."

"But, brahmin, is it possible to set aside one of these four things, and to call one a brahmin who is endowed with three of them . . . ?" "It is possible, sir Gotama. Of these four let us set aside the religious verses. For what will the verses do?" . . .

"But, brahmin, is it possible to set aside one of these three things, and to call one a brahmin who is endowed with two of them . . . ?" "It is possible, sir Gotama. Let us set aside birth. For what will birth do? In that a brahmin is virtuous, of developed virtue, endowed with developed virtue, is learned and wise, and the first or second of those who hold out the sacrificial ladle, one who is endowed with these two things the brahmins call a brahmin, and if he should call himself a brahmin, he would speak rightly and not fall into untruth."

Thereat the brahmins said to Soṇadaṇḍa, "Let not sir Soṇadaṇḍa speak thus; sir Soṇadaṇḍa is rejecting colour, rejecting verses, rejecting birth. Sir Soṇadaṇḍa is certainly entering on the teaching of the ascetic Gotama."

Then the Lord said to the brahmins, " If, brahmins, you think that the brahmin Soṇadaṇḍa is of little learning, not a good speaker, not intelligent, and not able to debate with the ascetic Gotama about his own utterance, then let Soṇadaṇḍa stop, and do you discuss with me. But if Soṇadaṇḍa is very learned, a good speaker, intelligent, and able to debate with the ascetic Gotama about his own utterance, then do you stop and let Soṇadaṇḍa debate with me."

Thereat Soṇadaṇḍa said to the Lord, " Let sir Gotama stop, let him be silent. I will give them a reply properly."

Then Soṇadaṇḍa said to the brahmins, " Do not speak so, do not speak so, and say that Soṇadaṇḍa is rejecting colour, the verses, and birth, and that he is entering on the teaching of the ascetic Gotama. I am not rejecting colour or the verses or birth."

Now at that time Soṇadaṇḍa's nephew, Angaka, a student, was seated in the assembly, and Soṇadaṇḍa said to the brahmins, " Sirs, do you see this student Angaka, my nephew ? " " Yes, sir." " Well, the student Angaka is beautiful, fair to look at, gracious, endowed with the highest beauty of colour, of excellent colour and excellent strength, not inferior in looks, and there is no one in this assembly like him in colour except the ascetic Gotama. He is a teacher, knows the verses by heart, has mastered the three Vedas, he is an expounder word by word of the ritual with its vocabulary, of the analysis of letters, and of tradition as the fifth, and he is complete in secular science and the knowledge of the marks of a great man. I have taught him the verses myself. He is well born on both sides from his mother

and father, he is of pure descent and of clear and unblemished birth as far as the seventh generation of his ancestors. I know his mother and father. Now if Angaka were to take life, take what was not given, go after others' wives, utter falsehood, or drink strong drink, what then would colour do for him or the verses or birth? But in that a brahmin is virtuous, of developed virtue, endowed with developed virtue, learned and wise, and the first or second of those who hold out the sacrificial ladle, it is being endowed with these two things that brahmins call him a brahmin, and that, if he should call himself a brahmin, he would speak rightly and not fall into untruth."

"Is it possible, brahmin, to set aside one of these two things, and to call one who is endowed with one of them a brahmin?"

"No, sir Gotama, for wisdom is purified by virtue and virtue by wisdom. Where there is virtue there is wisdom, and where there is wisdom there is virtue. The virtuous man has wisdom and the wise man has virtue, and virtue and wisdom are called the greatest thing in the world. Just as one might wash a hand with a hand or a foot with a foot, even so, sir Gotama, wisdom is purified by virtue and virtue by wisdom. Where there is virtue there is wisdom, and where there is wisdom there is virtue. The virtuous man has wisdom and the wise man has virtue, and virtue and wisdom are called the greatest thing in the world."

"Even so, brahmin . . . But what, brahmin, is virtue, and what is wisdom?" "That is as far as we have got, sir Gotama, in this matter. Truly it would be good

if sir Gotama would express his thought about the meaning of what has been said." "Then listen, brahmin, reflect on it well, I will speak." (Buddha goes on to expound virtue according to the Buddhist scheme of morality, concentration, and wisdom or full knowledge, as given above in the address to Ajātasattu.)

Soṇadaṇḍa-s., *Dīgha* i, 119.

XLVI

THE TRUE BRAHMIN

As the true brahmin is one who excels in conduct and wisdom, a description of him comes to be a description of the arahat, the disciple who has achieved his career. The passage here given is part of a discourse in verse, in which the same two brahmin students as in the next passage come to ask Buddha what makes a brahmin—birth or deeds. It also occurs in the well-known collection of verses, the *Dhammapada* (Words of the Doctrine), of which it forms the concluding part.

Not through source of birth or the mother do I speak of a brahmin. He (the brahmin by birth) is one who says "sir"[1]; he is a man of possessions. Him who has naught, who grasps not, I call a brahmin.

Who having cut away all fetters does not worry, free from ties and unattached, him I call a brahmin.

[1] *Bhovādī* "one who addresses others as *bho*". This is an ordinary term of address to equals or inferiors, and the brahmins are represented as thus addressing Buddha to show that they do not recognize his religious status. The Jains address Buddha as *āvuso* and, being a religious order, they are thus addressed by him (p. 190). The term *āvuso* means "elder", but when used as a familiar term between monks is best translated "friend". It is even used between laymen (p. 161).

Who has cut away thongs and ties, the halter with the bridle, who has cast away the bars and is enlightened, him I call a brahmin.

Who guiltless endures abuse and bonds and beating, with the power of patience opposing power, him I call a brahmin.

Free from wrath, devout, virtuous, undefiled, self-controlled, and living in his last body, him I call a brahmin.

Who, like water on a lotus-leaf, like a mustard-seed on the point of an awl, is not stained by lusts, him I call a brahmin.

Who knows that here and now is the destruction of his pain, who has laid down the burden, who is unattached, him I call a brahmin.

Of deep wisdom, wise, a knower of the right and wrong way, who has attained the highest end, him I call a brahmin.

Not mingling with householders nor with houseless ones, without abode, desiring little, him I call a brahmin.

Who laying aside a rod for living creatures, both those that move and those that move not, who slays not nor causes to be slain, him I call a brahmin.

Among the disturbed undisturbed, calm among those who have seized a rod, among graspers not grasping, him I call a brahmin.

Whose passion, hate, pride, and hypocrisy are smitten down, like a mustard-seed from the point of an awl, him I call a brahmin.

Who utters speech not rough but informing and true, so that he addresses no one in wrath, him I call a brahmin.

Who takes nothing in the world not given, whether long or short, small or large, fair or foul, him I call a brahmin.

In whom there are no longings for this world or the next, without support, unattached, him I call a brahmin.

In whom there are no clingings, who fully knows, free from doubts, and plunged in the immortal has reached his goal, him I call a brahmin.

Who in this world has passed beyond merit and vice, beyond contact with both, griefless, stainless, and pure, him I call a brahmin.

Like the moon, spotless, pure, bright, and unsullied, in whom delight is destroyed, him I call a brahmin.

Who has passed beyond the hindrance (of passion), the hard road (of the depravities), the round of rebirth, and the delusion (that hinders penetration of the Truths),[1] who has crossed over and reached the other side, unmoved, free from doubts, and without clinging has won Nirvāṇa, him I call a brahmin.

Who in this world has put aside lusts and wanders houseless, in whom lusts are destroyed, him I call a brahmin.

Who in this world has put aside craving and wanders houseless, in whom craving is destroyed, him I call a brahmin.

Who has renounced human ties and has passed beyond divine ties, who is not attached by any ties, him I call a brahmin.

Who has renounced passion and aversion, who has become cool and free from clinging to rebirth, the hero,

[1] This is the interpretation of the commentary.

who has overcome the whole universe, him I call a brahmin.

Who has come to know the passing away of beings and their rebirth entirely, unattached, the happy one, the enlightened, him I call a brahmin.

Whose course the gods know not nor the heavenly musicians nor men, in whom the āsavas are destroyed, the arahat, him I call a brahmin.

For whom there is naught, neither the future, the past, nor the present, who has naught, who grasps not, him I call a brahmin.

The Bull, the Noble one, the Hero, the Great Sage, the Victor, the Unmoved, the Perfected,[1] the Enlightened, him I call a brahmin.

Who has come to know his former existences, who beholds heaven and hell, and who has attained destruction of rebirth, him I call a brahmin.

Dhammapada, 396-423 ; *Vāseṭṭha-s.*, *Sutta-nipāta*, 620-647.

XLVII

THE BRAHMINS' THREEFOLD KNOWLEDGE

According to the Vedānta philosophy there is only one reality, an impersonal *brahma* behind all phenomena, and final salvation consists in realizing that the self is identical with that reality. In the following discourse there is no mention of that theory, nor do the Buddhists appear to have been aware of it. The Brahmā here spoken of is a personal god who, as both

[1] Lit. " he who has bathed ". It is another instance of the adaptation of brahminical terms, as it originally referred to the ceremonial bathing of the brahmin student after the completion of his studies.

Hindus and Buddhists agreed, ruled in a particular region of the world, the heaven of Brahmā, to which those with sufficient merit might attain. The first part of the argument is intended to show that the brahmins know nothing of Brahmā. It is a sceptical argument, which would apply to any assertion about the destiny of the individual after death. The second part consists in showing that, according to the Buddhist theory of the world of Brahmā and of the qualifications necessary to attain it, it is impossible for brahmins to reach it. But it is valid only for those who accept the Buddhist view of the Brahma-world. The Buddhists conceived it as a region without sense passion, in which touch, taste, and smell do not exist. It is attained by practising the four Brahma-abodes, whereby the monk pervades the world with love, compassion, sympathy, and equanimity (p. 80).

The brahmin students Vāseṭṭha and Bhāradvāja went to the Lord . . . and Vāseṭṭha said, " Sir Gotama, as we were going up and down on our walk a conversation arose about what is and what is not the way. I say that the straight way, the direct path, which leads anyone who takes it to companionship with Brahmā, is that taught by the brahmin Pokkharasāti. Bhāradvāja says that the straight way . . . is that taught by the brahmin Tārukkha. Hence there is a dispute and contention and difference of teaching."

" Thus it seems, Vāseṭṭha, you say . . . but wherein lies your dispute and contention and difference of teaching ? " " About what is and is not the way, sir Gotama. Do the various ways that the brahmins teach— the Adhvaryu brahmins, the Taittirīyas, the Chāndogyas, and the Bahvṛcas (Rigveda school) [1]—do they all lead

[1] These are the Sanskrit forms of the names ; the Pāli has corrupted them.

anyone who takes them to companionship with Brahmā? Just as there are many and various ways leading to a village or town, but they all end in the village, do the various ways that the brahmins teach . . . lead to companionship with Brahmā?" "Did you say they lead, Vāseṭṭha?" "I say they lead, Gotama." "Did you say they lead, Vāseṭṭha?" "I say they lead, sir Gotama." "Did you say they lead, Vāseṭṭha?" "I say they lead, sir Gotama."[1] "Well, Vāseṭṭha, is there a single brahmin among the brahmins of the threefold knowledge who has seen Brahmā himself?" "Certainly not, sir Gotama." "Well, Vāseṭṭha, is there a single teacher among the brahmins of the threefold knowledge who has seen Brahmā himself?" "Certainly not, sir Gotama." "Well, is there a single teacher of teachers among the brahmins of the threefold knowledge who has seen Brahmā himself?" "Certainly not, sir Gotama." "Well, is there one as far back as the seventh in the succession of teachers who has seen Brahmā himself?" "Certainly not, sir Gotama." "Well, Vāseṭṭha, among the brahmins of the threefold knowledge, the ancient sages, the makers of verses, the proclaimers of verses, whose ancient verses sung, recited, and composed by them the brahmins of the threefold knowledge now sing and utter after them, utter after them what was uttered, and teach after them what was taught, such as Aṭṭhaka, Vāmaka, Vāmadeva, Vessamitta, Yamataggi, Angirasa, Bhāradvāja, Vāseṭṭha, Kassapa, and Bhagu, did they say that they know and see where or whereabouts Brahmā

[1] The commentary says that he repeats the question three times because heretics have a way of evading their previous admissions.

is ?" "Certainly not, sir Gotama." "Thus it seems, Vāseṭṭha, that not a single one (of all these) has seen Brahmā himself. . . . Really the brahmins of the threefold knowledge have said that they are teaching a way to his companionship which they do not know and do not see, when they say this is the straight way, the direct path, which leads anyone who takes it to companionship with Brahmā.

"What do you think, Vāseṭṭha, if that is so, does it not result in an absurd assertion of the brahmins of the threefold knowledge ?" "Indeed it does, sir Gotama." "Truly, it is not possible that the brahmins of the threefold knowledge can teach the way to the companionship of him whom they neither know nor see. Just like a string of blind men holding on to one another, the first does not see, nor the middle one, nor the last,[1] like that string of blind men is the assertion of those brahmins. The first does not see, the middle one does not see, the last does not see. Their assertion is ridiculous, nonsensical, empty, and vain. What do you think, Vāseṭṭha ? Do the brahmins of the threefold knowledge as well as many others see the moon and sun, and pray to them both from where they rise and where they set, praise them, and continually worship them with folded hands ?" "Even so, sir Gotama. . . ."

"What do you think, Vāseṭṭha, can those brahmins of the threefold knowledge . . . point out the way to companionship with the moon and sun, and say that this

[1] The commentary tells the story of a rogue who offered to take a string of blind men to a village. He led them round a bush, put the hand of the first into the armpit of the last, and then left them going round and round.

is the straight way, the direct path, which leads any one who takes it to companionship with the moon and sun ?" "Certainly not, sir Gotama."

"Thus it seems that those brahmins . . . cannot point out the way to companionship with the moon and sun, which they can see. It seems they have not seen Brahmā themselves . . . if that is so, does it not result in an absurd assertion of the brahmins of the threefold knowledge ?" "Indeed it does, sir Gotama. . . ." "It is as if a man were to say that he desires and loves the lady who is the beauty of the country, and they were to ask him if he knows the lady whom he desires and loves, whether she is of the warrior caste, the brahmin, trader, or serf caste, and he were to say no. Then if they were to ask him if he knows what name or clan the lady is, whether she is tall or short, dark or the colour of a mangura fish, or in what village or town or city, and he were to say no. So they would ask him if he were desiring and loving someone whom he did not know, or see, and he would say yes. What do you think, Vāseṭṭha, if that is so, does it not result in an absurd assertion of the man ?" "Indeed it does, sir Gotama."

"Even so, Vāseṭṭha, it seems the brahmins of the threefold knowledge have not seen Brahmā themselves . . . If that is so, does it not result in an absurd assertion of the brahmins ?" "Indeed it does, sir Gotama. . . ."[1]

"Even so, Vāseṭṭha, those brahmins of the threefold knowledge, who have rejected those things that a brahmin

[1] Two other similes follow, of a man building a staircase without knowing where the house is to be, and of a man wanting to cross the river and asking the other side to come to him.

should do, and go on practising those things that a brahmin should not do, have said, ' We call upon Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Isāna, Pajāpati, Brahmā, Mahiddhi, Yama. Verily, Vāseṭṭha, that those brahmins, on account of their calling and begging and imploring and praising, with the dissolution of the body after death should go to the company of the Brahma-gods is an impossibility. Just as if this river Aciravatī were full of water to the brim so that a crow could drink from it, and a man were to come wanting to cross over and get to the other side ; but he is bound to this side with a strong chain and his arms firmly tied behind him. What do you think, Vāseṭṭha ? Would that man get from this side of the river to the other ? " " Certainly not, sir Gotama."

" Even so, Vāseṭṭha, the five sense-qualities in the discipline of the noble one are called chains and fetters. What are the five ? Forms perceived by the eye, desirable, lovable, pleasant, attractive, associated with desire, and lustful, sounds perceived by the ear . . . scents perceived by smell . . . tangible things perceived by touch. . . . These five sense-qualities in the discipline of the noble one are called chains and fetters, and it is these five sense qualities that the brahmins, who are bound, infatuated, attached, without seeing their danger and without knowing how to escape, enjoy. . . .

" Even so, Vāseṭṭha, the five hindrances in the discipline of the noble one are called obstructions and hindrances. They are called veils and coverings. What are the five ? The hindrance of lust and passion, the hindrance of malice, the hindrance of sloth and torpor, the hindrance of distraction and agitation, and the

hindrance of doubt. . . . With these five hindrances the brahmins of the threefold knowledge are obstructed, hindered, veiled, and covered. Verily, Vāseṭṭha, that the brahmins of the threefold knowledge, who have rejected those things that a brahmin should do, and go on practising those things that a brahmin should not do, who are obstructed, hindered, veiled, and covered with the five hindrances, that they with the dissolution of the body after death should go to the company of the Brahma-gods, is an impossibility."

Tevijja-s., *Dīgha*, i, 235.

XLVIII

ON SACRIFICE

Sacrifice was excluded from the disciple's course of training on two grounds, as causing pain to living beings and, even if there was no taking of life, as being of no help to the monk in his career. It implies a wish to gain some worldly advantage, and is thus an expression of craving. That is how the converted Kassapa explained it, when he told why he had given up his fire worship (p. 36). But the layman could not, like the monk, discard his caste, and sacrificial ceremonies were needed at birth and other stages throughout his life as a householder. Offerings to the dead are expressly recognized in the Householder's Discipline (p. 149). It was not for Buddhism to lay down rules about these, unless they violated some positive principle. The only sacrifice expressly approved in this discourse is the giving of alms.

The brahmin Ujjāya came to the Lord and saluted him, and exchanging courteous and pleasant greetings

with him sat down at one side. As he sat there he said to the Lord, "Is it the case that sir Gotama does not praise sacrifice?" "I do not praise every sacrifice, brahmin, but yet it is not every sacrifice that I do not praise. The kind of sacrifice in which oxen are slain, goats and sheep, fowls and pigs, and various living things are killed, such a sacrifice, brahmin, accompanied with violence I do not praise. And why? Because such a sacrifice accompanied with violence is not approached by arahats or by those who have entered on the way of arahats.

"The kind of sacrifice in which neither oxen are slain nor goats and sheep, fowls and pigs, nor any kind of living things killed, such a sacrifice, brahmin, free from violence I praise, namely a favourable sacrifice of continuous alms-giving. And why? Because such a sacrifice free from violence is approached by arahats and by those who have entered on the way of arahats.

> "The horse sacrifice, human sacrifice, the Śamyāprāsa and Vājapeya sacrifices, these great sacrifices, in which there is great violence without limit, are without great fruit.
>
> "That in which goats, sheep, oxen, and other creatures are slain is not approached by the great sages who walk rightly.
>
> "The sacrifice which is sacrificed without violence, ever favourable, in which goats, sheep, and various living things are not slain,
>
> "That sacrifice is approached by the great sages who walk rightly; that let the wise man sacrifice; that sacrifice is of great fruit.
>
> "For him who sacrifices this, it is better and not worse; abundant is the sacrifice, and the gods are pleased."

Anguttara, ii, 42.

XLIX

THE JAINS

Among the six rival teachers is mentioned the Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, who has been identified with Vardhamāna, the leader of the Jains and a contemporary of Buddha. By his followers he is known as Mahāvīra "great hero", and Jina "victor", and hence the usual name of his disciples, Jainas "followers of the Jina". The name by which the Buddhists know them is *Nigaṇṭha* "free from bonds", or *Niggantha* in Jain works. In external monastic organization Jainism resembled Buddhism, but was more severe. Its doctrines were and are very different. The theory of souls was accepted and extended, for even cold water was held to possess souls, and salvation was made to consist in the annihilation or expulsion of karma. There is little definite information about the Jains to be gained from Buddhist works, but below will be found a fair exposition of two of their doctrines.

Thus have I heard: At one time the Lord was living among the Sakyas. Now at that time the Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta had just died at Pāvā. At his death the Nigaṇṭhas were split and divided, and quarrels and disputes broke out. They contended and fought one another with wordy weapons, such as, "You do not understand this doctrine and discipline, I understand it: how should you understand it? Your way is false, mine is right. I am consistent, you are not. You are saying last what should come before, and saying first what should come after. What you have held for so long is reversed; your assertion is refuted, you are checked; go and get rid of that assertion,[1] or disentangle yourself

[1] Go to a teacher and ask him further, says the commentary.

if you can." Killing seems to be the way of the followers of Nātaputta. Even the white-robed lay disciples of the Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta were disgusted with his followers, displeased and repelled, as in the case of a doctrine and discipline, badly expounded, badly set forth, not leading to the goal, not tending to tranquillity, and set forth by one not fully enlightened, with its support destroyed and without resource.

Then Chunda the novice having spent Retreat at Pāvā came to Sāmagāma where the elder Ānanda was, and saluting him sat down at one side. As he sat there he said to Ānanda, " The Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta has just died at Pāvā . . . " (The whole of the above description is repeated, and then they go to see Buddha, to whom Ānanda repeats it again.)

" Even so (said the Lord) is it in the case of a doctrine and discipline badly expounded, badly set forth, not leading to the goal, not tending to tranquillity, and set forth by one not fully enlightened. In this case, Chunda, there is a teacher not fully enlightened, and a doctrine badly expounded, badly set forth, not leading to the goal, not tending to tranquillity, and set forth by one not fully enlightened. In this doctrine the disciple has neither reached a position in accordance with the doctrine, nor right conduct, nor does he walk in accordance with the doctrine but goes on deviating from that doctrine. He might be told, ' Friend you have gained something, something well gained, but your teacher is not fully enlightened, his doctrine is badly expounded, badly set forth, not leading to the goal, not tending to tranquillity, set forth by one not fully enlightened, and you have not reached a

position in accordance with the doctrine, nor right conduct, nor do you walk in accordance with the doctrine, but go on deviating from that doctrine.' In this respect, Chunda, the teacher is blameworthy, and the doctrine is blameworthy, but the disciple is to be praised. Now anyone who should say to such a disciple, 'Come, friend, walk according to the doctrine taught and declared by your teacher,' then both he who incites and he who being incited walks accordingly, both produce much demerit. And why? Even so is it, Chunda, in the case of a doctrine badly expounded, badly set forth, not salutary, not tending to tranquillity, and set forth by one not fully enlightened."

Pāsādika-s., *Dīgha*, iii, 117.

L

THE JAINS AND KARMA

In Jainism as in Buddhism the goal of the ascetic is to make an end of pain, and as evil karma produces pain the Jain ascetic aims at exhausting all his karma. Buddhism aims not at neutralizing what has been done, but at destroying the vicious impulses that produce bad karma. No one but a Buddha can know how much unripened karma remains, and the question is unnecessary, for rebirth stops with the extinction of the cause of rebirth, the craving for existence.

The Jain disciples here make the claim of omniscience for their teacher, and it is put in the form in which Buddha disclaimed it (p. 135). It may be taken as a fair statement of the Jain view, for a Jain sūtra declares that Mahāvīra was "all-knowing, perceiving all things, he knew all beings of the universe with all the gods, men, and rebel gods; namely their coming, going, abiding, passing away, rebirth . . . the talk,

conversation, and thoughts of all things, of all living beings in the universe ".[1]

Thus have I heard: At one time the Lord was dwelling among the Sakyas. Devadaha is a township of the Sakyas. Then the Lord addressed the monks: " Monks." " Reverend one," the monks replied to the Lord.

The Lord said: " There are some ascetics and brahmins who hold the tenet and view that whatever an individual experiences, whether pleasant, painful, or indifferent, is all the effect of his previous karma, and so by destroying old karmas through penance and by not producing new karmas there will be no outflow in the future, through there being no outflow in the future there will be destruction of karma, through destruction of karma destruction of pain, through destruction of pain destruction of feeling, and through destruction of feeling the whole of pain will be exhausted. . . .

" I went to the Nigaṇṭhas and asked if that was their tenet and view. 'Yes,' they said, and I asked, 'Do you know that you were existent formerly and not non-existent?' 'No, friend.' 'Well, friends, do you know that you did a bad action formerly and not that you did not do it?' 'No, friend.' 'Well, friends, do you know that so much pain is exhausted, or so much pain remains to be exhausted, or when so much pain has been exhausted all pain will be exhausted?' 'No, friend.' 'Well, friends, do you know the putting aside of evil thoughts and the acquiring of good thoughts?' 'No friend.' . . .

" 'Thus, it seems, friends, that you do not know whether you were existent formerly and not non-existent

[1] *Āyāraṃga-s.*, ii, 15, 26.

. . . nor do you know the putting aside of evil thoughts and the acquiring of good thoughts. If you knew this . . . then it would be fitting for the Nigaṇṭhas to explain that whatever an individual experiences, whether pleasant, painful, or indifferent, is all the effect of his previous karma and so by destroying old karmas through penance and by not producing new karmas there will be no outflow in the future, through there being no outflow in the future there will be destruction of karma, through the destruction of karma destruction of pain, through destruction of pain destruction of feeling, and through destruction of feeling the whole of pain will be exhausted.

" ' Suppose, friends, a man were struck by an arrow thickly smeared with poison. He would feel painful, sharp, severe sensations on account of the arrow. His friends and relations would get an arrow-surgeon, who would cut the mouth of the wound with a knife, and the man would feel painful, sharp, severe sensations on account of the knife. The surgeon would probe for the barb, and the man would feel painful . . . sensations on account of the probing. The surgeon would extract the arrow, and the man would feel painful . . . sensations on account of the extraction. The surgeon would apply medical ashes to the wound, and the man would feel painful . . . sensations on account of the application of ashes. Later on, when the wound was healed and closed, and he was well, happy, independent, and able to go where he wanted, he might reflect (on the causes, of the four kinds of pain thus produced). Even so, friends, only if you knew whether you were existent formerly . . . would it be fitting for you to explain

that whatever an individual experiences, whether pleasant, painful, or indifferent, is all the effect of previous karma, and that by destroying old karmas . . . there is destruction of pain, through destruction of pain destruction of feeling, and through destruction of feeling the whole of pain will be exhausted. But as you do not know . . . therefore your explanation is unfitting.'

"At this the Nigaṇṭhas said to me, 'The Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta is all-knowing and all-seeing and professes complete knowledge and insight, saying that whether he is walking, standing, asleep, or awake, complete knowledge and insight are continually present. He says, "You have previously done evil karma; this you exhaust by this severe austerity. But in that you are here and now restrained in body, speech, and mind, this is in the future the non-performance of evil karma. Thus by destroying old karmas through penance, and by not producing new karmas there will be no outflow in the future, through there being no outflow in the future there will be destruction of karma, through destruction of karma destruction of pain, through destruction of pain destruction of feeling, and through destruction of feeling the whole of pain will be exhausted." This doctrine of ours pleases us, it seems good to us, and we rejoice in it.'"

Devadaha-s., *Majjhima*, ii, 214.

LI

THE UNDETERMINED QUESTIONS

The list of undetermined questions that are to be put aside by the disciple has been the reason for calling Buddhism agnostic.

It is not agnostic except on these points, and even on these points it was never held that Buddha did not know the answers. They are useless for the disciple's purpose, but are never called unknowable.

Vacchagotta the wanderer approached the Lord, and addressing him exchanged courteous and pleasant greetings with him, and sat down at one side. As he sat at one side he said to the Lord, "Well, sir Gotama, is sir Gotama of the view that the universe is eternal, that this is true and any other view false?" "I am not of the view Vaccha, that the universe is eternal, that this is true and any other view false." "Well, is sir Gotama of the view that the universe is not eternal . . . ?" "I am not of that view, Vaccha. . . ." "Well, is sir Gotama of the view that the universe is finite . . . not finite . . . that the vital principle is the same as the body . . . that it is different from the body . . . that a released person (*tathāgata*) exists after death . . . or that he does not exist after death . . . or that he exists and does not exist after death . . . or that he neither exists nor does not exist after death?" (All these views are separately denied.)

"Well, sir Gotama, when you are asked whether your view is that the universe is eternal . . . not eternal . . . you say that you are not of such view. . . . What danger does sir Gotama perceive that he thus entirely avoids these views?"

"To hold that the universe is eternal, Vaccha, is a view, a thicket of views, a wilderness, jungle, tangle, fetter of views, full of pain, vexation, trouble, and distress, and does not tend to aversion, absence of passion,

cessation, tranquillity, higher knowledge, enlightenment, Nirvāṇa." (The other views are described in the same way.)

"Well, has sir Gotama any view?" "The term view, Vaccha, has been discarded by the Tathāgata. What has been seen by the Tathāgata is: body, the origin of body, the disappearance of body; sensation, the origin of sensation, the disappearance of sensation; perception, the origin of perception, the disappearance of perception; the aggregates, the origin of the aggregates, the disappearance of the aggregates; consciousness, the origin of consciousness, the disappearance of consciousness. Therefore a released person with the destruction, dispassion, cessation, abandonment, rejection, and non-arising of all imaginary and confused leanings to conceit in a self or in anything belonging to a self is released, thus I say."

"But, sir Gotama, where is the monk reborn, whose mind is thus released?" "To say he is reborn, Vaccha, does not fit the case." "Then, sir Gotama, he is not reborn." "To say he is not reborn, Vaccha, does not fit the case." "Then, sir Gotama, he is reborn and is not reborn." "To say he is reborn and not reborn does not fit the case." "Then he is neither reborn nor is he not reborn." "To say he is neither reborn nor not reborn does not fit the case."

"When you are asked, sir Gotama, where the monk whose mind is released is reborn, you say that to say he is reborn does not fit the case. . . . In this matter I have fallen into ignorance and confusion, and the measure of faith in sir Gotama through our former conversation has now disappeared."

"Verily, Vaccha, you have ignorance and confusion enough. Profound is this doctrine, Vaccha, hard to see, hard to comprehend, good, excellent, beyond the sphere of reasoning, subtle, to be understood only by the wise. For you it is hard to understand, who hold other views, other inclinations, other likings, another training, and another master. Therefore, Vaccha, I will question you in turn about the matter, and as it suits you give your explanation. What do you think, Vaccha, if a fire were burning before you, would you know it was burning before you?" "If a fire were burning before me, sir Gotama, I should know it was burning before me." "And if someone asked you on account of what the fire was burning, how would you explain it?" . . . "I should say that the fire burning before me was burning on account of its fuel of grass and sticks." "If, Vaccha, the fire before you were to go out, would you know that it had gone out[1]?" . . . "I should know that it had gone out." "And if someone were to ask you, Vaccha, in what direction the fire had gone, to the east, west, north, or south, if you were thus asked how would you explain it?" "It does not fit the case, sir Gotama, for the fire was burning on account of its fuel of grass and sticks, and through the consumption of that and through not getting any other it is without fuel as food, and is what is called extinct."

"Even so, Vaccha, that body by which one might denote a released person has passed away, it is cut off at the root, like a cut-down palm-tree, made non-existent, not liable to arise again in the future. A released

[1] *Nibbuto*, become extinct.

person, Vaccha, is released from what is called body, he is profound, immeasurable, hard to fathom, and like the great ocean. To say he is reborn does not fit the case; to say that he is not reborn, that he is reborn and not reborn, that he is neither reborn nor not reborn does not fit the case." (The same is repeated for feeling, perception, the aggregates, and consciousness.)

At this the wanderer Vacchagotta said to the Lord, "Just as if, sir Gotama, there was a great sāla tree near a village or town, and through the course of change its branches and leaves were to fall away, its bark and shoots, its decayed wood, and later on when its branches and leaves, bark, shoots, and decayed wood were gone, it were to stand established, pure in its strength, even so this utterance of sir Gotama, with the branches and leaves, the bark, shoots, and decayed wood gone, stands established pure in its strength."

Aggivacchagotta-s., *Majjhima*, i, 483.

LII

VAIN SPECULATIONS

The undetermined questions are here treated from a different point of view. They are classed with regard to things in the past and things in the future. Some of them are cosmological, and may be said to be undetermined still. The most important are those about a self (*ātman*). This is the self of ordinary experience, and the questions raised are about what becomes of it after death. Later on *ātman* is used to imply the theory of an eternal entity behind the ordinary self. In this sense, as something permanent behind the five groups forming the self, it is denied with great determination.

A case occurs, Chunda, in which wanderers of other schools might say thus : " What, friend, has been expounded by the ascetic Gotama ? " They should thus be told, " This is pain " has been expounded, friend, by the Lord. "This is the cause of pain " has been expounded by the Lord. " This is the cessation of pain " has been expounded by the Lord. " This is the path leading to the cessation of pain " has been expounded by the Lord.

A case occurs, Chunda, in which wanderers of other schools might say thus, " Why, friend, has this been expounded by the ascetic Gotama ? " They should thus be told, " This, friend, is endowed with profit and with the Doctrine, it belongs to the beginning of the religious life, it tends to entire aversion, absence of passion, cessation, tranquillity, higher knowledge, enlightenment, Nirvāṇa. Therefore has it been expounded by the Lord."

Those principles of speculations relating to the beginning of things (things in the past) have been expounded to you by me as they ought to be expounded. Surely I shall not expound them as they ought not to be expounded ? And those principles of speculations relating to the end of things (things in the future) have been expounded to you be me as they ought to be expounded. Surely I shall not expound them as they ought not to be expounded ?

And what, Chunda are those principles relating to things in the past ? . . . There are some ascetics and brahmins who hold the doctrine and view :—

(1) That the self and world are eternal; this is true, any other view is vain . . .

(2) The self and the world are not eternal . . .

(3) They are both eternal and not eternal . . .

(4) They are neither eternal nor not eternal . . .

(5) They are self-made . . .

(6) They are made by another . . .

(7) They are self-made and made by another . . .

(8) They are neither self-made nor made by another, but have arisen by chance . . .

(The same eight alternatives are stated of the nature and origin of pain.)

Now when any ascetics and brahmins hold the doctrine and view that the self and the world are eternal, that this is true, and any other view is vain, I go to them and say, "Is this what you say, friend, that the self and the world are eternal?" And when they say that this is true and any other view is vain, I do not admit it. And why? Because some beings think otherwise in the matter. I do not see that their conception is equal to mine, much less better. So that even therein I am better, namely in forming a conception. (The other views are rejected in the same way.)

And what, Chunda, are those principles relating to things in the future, which have been expounded to you by me as they ought to be expounded?

There are some ascetics and brahmins who hold the doctrine and view:—

(1) That the self after death has form and is free from sickness . . .

(2) That it is without form . . .

(3) That it has form and is without form . . .
(4) That it neither has form nor is without it . . .
(5) That it has perception . . .
(6) That it is without perception . . .
(7) That it is neither with nor without perception . . .
(8) That it is cut off, destroyed, and does not exist after death . . . (These eight views are rejected in the same way as the former.)

Now in rejecting and passing beyond these principles of speculations relating to things in the past and things in the future the four Stations of Mindfulness have been thus taught by me and set forth. What are the four? Herein a monk abides contemplating his body, zealous, self-possessed, and mindful, dispelling his longing and dejection towards the world . . . his feelings . . . his mind . . . his thoughts. In rejecting and passing beyond these principles of speculations . . . the four Stations of Mindfulness have been thus taught by me and set forth.

Pāsādika-s., *Dīgha*, iii, 136.

LIII

THEORY OF PERMANENCE

The permanence here referred to is that of the self, and the course of reasoning is described by which theorists have been led to accept the doctrine of an absolutely permanent self. The theory was attacked by the Buddhists because it implied that the self was something stable in the world of change, and hence was opposed to the attainment of the true permanence of Nirvāṇa. But any cutting off or annihilation of the self was equally denied, as will be seen.

Further, Lord, this is a supreme thing how the Lord teaches the Doctrine concerning theories of permanence. There are three theories of permanence. In one case some ascetic or brahmin applies zeal, energy, effort, vigilance, and right reflection, and attains to such a concentration of mind that with concentrated mind he remembers various previous existences, such as one birth, two, three, four, five, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, a hundred, a thousand, a hundred thousand, many hundred births, many thousand, many hundred thousand births, (thinking) "There I was, of such a name, clan, caste, of such sustenance, experiencing such pleasure and pain, and having such an end of life. Passing away thence I was reborn elsewhere. Here, too, I was of such a name . . . and passing away I was reborn here." Thus he remembers his various former existences with their modes and details. He says, "I know the past, that the universe was either evolving or going to dissolution, but I do not know the future, whether the universe will be evolving or going to dissolution. The self and the universe are permanent, barren (i.e. not producing anything new), standing as on a mountain peak, fixed as a firm pillar ; and these beings are reborn, transmigrate, pass away, and arise again, but (self and world) are eternal." This is the first theory of permanence. (In the second theory the theorist is said to know many periods of evolution and dissolution, and knows the future as well as the past. He also knows that the universe was both evolving and going to dissolution, and that in the future it will be either evolving or going to dissolution. In the third theory he knows that it will be both evolving and going to dissolution.

The conclusion concerning the self and the universe is the same in each case.)

Sampasādaniya-s., *Dīgha*, iii, 108.

LIV

BRAHMĀ'S IGNORANCE

The following legend illustrates the grounds of objection to the theory of permanence. If the Brahma-world and its inhabitants were really eternal, as Baka supposed, it would be quite impossible for them ever to attain the supreme goal of Nirvāṇa.

Thus have I heard : At one time the Lord dwelt at Sāvatthī in the Jetavana monastery in the park of Anāthapiṇḍika. At that time the following evil view had occurred to Baka the Brahmā, that this (Brahma-world) is permanent, it is stable, it is eternal, it is complete, it is not liable to pass away, for it is neither born nor grows old nor dies nor passes away nor is reborn, and outside this there is no other higher salvation.

So the Lord knowing the thoughts of the mind of Baka the Brahmā, just as a strong man might bend his arm and then stretch it or stretch it and then bend it, even so did he disappear from the Jetavana and appear in the Brahma-world. Baka the Brahmā from a distance saw the Lord coming, and on seeing him said, "Come sir, welcome sir, it is a long time since you have undertaken this, namely to come here. This (Brahma-world), sir, is permanent, it is stable, it is eternal, it is complete, it is not liable to pass away, for it is neither born nor

grows old nor dies nor passes away nor is reborn, and outside this there is no other higher salvation."

Thereat the Lord said to Baka the Brahmā, "Verily Baka the Brahmā has fallen into ignorance. Verily Baka the Brahmā has fallen into ignorance in that he calls what is impermanent permanent, what is unstable stable, what is non-eternal eternal, what is incomplete complete, what is liable to pass away not liable to pass away, but something that is born, grows old, dies, passes away, and is reborn, that he says is not born, does not grow old or die or pass away and become reborn, and although there is another higher salvation he says there is no other higher salvation."

BAKA. We seventy-two, Gotama, have done deeds of merit,
Controllers we, birth and age have we surmounted;
This is our last Brahma-birth as Veda-knowers;
To us do many multitudes pay worship.

THE LORD. Short in truth is this life of thine, not long is it,
This life, which thou, O Baka, long life supposest;
This life of a hundred thousand million ages,
This life of thine do I comprehend, O Brahmā.

BAKA. Of vision infinite am I, O Lord,
I have escaped from birth, old age, and sorrow;
What of my former vows and deeds of virtue?
Relate them then to me that I may know them.

THE LORD. Once thou didst quench the thirst of many mortals,
Who suffered sore from thirst, by heat o'er-mastered;
This former vow of thine and deed of virtue,
As one from sleep awaking, I remember.

Once in a river-creek a multitude
Were seized and taken prisoners: thou didst free them;
This former vow of thine and deed of virtue,
As one from sleep awaking, I remember.

When on the Ganges stream a ship was captured,
Thou didst thereat put forth thy might, and saved it,
Saved from a cruel serpent bent on slaughter;
This former vow of thine and deed of virtue,
As one from sleep awaking, I remember.
And once as Kappa I was thy attendant,
Wise in thy vows and learned did I think thee;
This former vow of thine and deed of virtue,
As one from sleep awaking, I remember.

BAKA. This life of mine thou indeed comprehendest,
And others too thou knowest, as thou art Buddha;
And so this majesty of thine resplendent
Abides illumining the world of Brahmā.

Saṃyutta, i, 142.

LV

THEORY OF ANNIHILATION

The belief in rebirth guaranteed the ordinary person from the heresy of Ajita, that the individual was annihilated at death (p. 165), but there still remained the question as to what became of the individual with the cessation of rebirth. For the argument compare the discourse above, p. 158.

The elder Sāriputta having in the evening arisen from his meditation went to the elder Yamaka, exchanged courteous and pleasant greetings with him, and sat at one side. As he sat there he said to the elder Yamaka, "Is it true, friend Yamaka, that you have formed such an evil view as this, that you understand the doctrine as taught by the Lord to be that a monk in whom the āsavas are destroyed at the dissolution of the body is cut off and destroyed and does not exist after death?"

" Even so, friend, do I understand the doctrine as taught by the Lord."

" What do you think, friend Yamaka, is body permanent or impermanent ? " " Impermanent." " Feeling . . . perception . . . the aggregates . . . consciousness . . . are they permanent or impermanent ? " " Impermanent." " Therefore, friend Yamaka, whatever form there is . . . whatever feeling, perception, aggregates, consciousness, should be correctly looked upon with right wisdom as, ' This is not mine, I am not this, this is not my self . . .'

" What do you think, friend Yamaka, do you look upon a released person [1] as body . . . as consciousness ? " " No, friend." " Do you look upon a released person as existing in body ? " " No, friend." " Do you look upon a released person as other than body ? " " No, friend." (And so of the other groups.) " What do you think, friend Yamaka, do you look upon a released person as body, feeling, perception, aggregates, and consciousness ? " " No, friend." " Do you look upon a released person as being without body, feeling, perception, aggregates, and consciousness ? " " No, friend." " Then, friend Yamaka, a released person even in this actual life is not to be apprehended in truth and reality.

" Now is this explanation of yours fitting, that you understand the Doctrine as taught by the Lord to be that a monk in whom the āsavas are destroyed at the dissolution of the body is cut off and destroyed and does

[1] The word is *tathāgata*, evidently used here of any released person, or, as Yamaka himself states it above, *khīṇāsavo bhikkhu*, a monk in whom the āsavas are destroyed.

not exist after death ?" "I had that evil view before, when I was ignorant, but now that I have heard the elder Sāriputta's teaching of the Doctrine this evil view is put away, and I have mastered the Doctrine." "If they were to ask you whether a monk, an arahat, in whom the āsavas are destroyed, exists with the dissolution of the body after death, how would you explain it ? "I should say, body is impermanent ; what is impermanent is painful, what is painful has ceased, it has passed away. Feeling is impermanent. . . . If asked, so should I explain it."

"Good, good, friend Yamaka, I will now give you a simile to make the meaning clearer. Suppose there is a householder or his son, rich, wealthy, and prosperous, and he has a body-guard, and some man were to come not desiring his good or advantage or peace, but desiring to take his life. The man would think, 'This householder is rich . . . and he has a body-guard ; it would not be easy to seize him and take his life. What if I were to make my way in and take his life.' He might approach the householder and ask to be appointed as his attendant. Being appointed he would get up before his master, go to bed after him, noticing what he wanted done, well-behaved, and pleasant-spoken. The householder would trust him as a friend and confidant, and would have trust in him. But when the man thought that the householder had trust in him, if he found him in a lonely place he would take his life with a sharp sword.

"What do you think, friend Yamaka, when the man asks to be appointed attendant, he is even then a murderer, though the householder does not know that he is his

murderer. And when he is appointed, gets up before his master and goes to bed after him, noticing what he wants done, is well-behaved and pleasant-spoken, he is even then a murderer. And when he finds him in a lonely place and takes his life with a sharp sword, then, too, he is a murderer, though the householder does not know." "Even so, friend."

"Even so, friend, the unlearned common person . . . looks upon the body as the self, or the self as consisting of body, or the body in the self, or the self in the body. . . . He does not correctly know that impermanent body is impermanent . . . that painful body is painful . . . that body without self is without self . . . that compound body is compound . . . that murderous body is murderous. (The other groups are treated in the same way.) He approaches body, grasps it, clings to it, thinking it is his self. He approaches feeling. . . . These five groups of grasping being approached, grasped, and embraced for long tend to his disadvantage and sorrow.

"The learned noble disciple does not look upon the body as the self or the self as consisting of body or the body as in the self or the self as in the body. . . . He does not approach body or grasp it or cling to it. He does not approach feeling . . . These five groups of grasping, not being approached, grasped, or embraced, for long tend to his advantage and happiness."

"Even so, friend Sāriputta, are those reverend ones, who like you share the religious life, who are compassionate, eager to do good, to exhort, and to teach."

Saṃyutta, iii, 110.

LVI

THE ULTIMATE ORIGIN OF PAIN

It is one thing to ask how pain arises in any given case. The answer to this is the second Truth of Buddhism, and the Chain of Causation is intended to show its causal origin at certain stages in the existence of the individual. The question of Kassapa is different. He wants to know the ultimate origin of pain, why pain should exist at all. For Buddhism this is as useless as asking whether the universe had a beginning or whether it is infinite or not. It is quite enough to know how any actual pain has arisen and how it may be ended. Not only is Kassapa's question useless, but any attempt to answer it is likely to result in some heresy. Pain may be conceived so that it is taken to be something absolutely permanent, and then it can never be ended, and hence the heresy of Permanence and its evil result. Or pain may be considered as being without any causal relation, in which case it might begin and end arbitrarily. This is one form of the doctrine of Annihilation.

The Lord in the morning having dressed himself took his bowl and robe and went into Rājagaha for alms. Now the naked ascetic Kassapa from a distance saw him coming. On seeing him he approached the Lord, saluted him with courteous and pleasant greetings and stood on one side.

As he stood there he said to the Lord, "We should like to ask sir Gotama about a certain matter, if sir Gotama would give us the opportunity to have the explanation of a question." "It is not the time now, Kassapa, for a question, we have come in between the houses." A second and a third time Kassapa put his question. Thereat Kassapa said to the Lord, "Well, we do not want to ask much." "Ask, Kassapa, what you want."

"Now, sir Gotama, is pain produced by oneself?" "Not so, Kassapa," said the Lord. "Well, sir Gotama, is pain produced by another?" "Not so, Kassapa," said the Lord. "Well, sir Gotama, is pain produced by oneself and by another?" "Not so, Kassapa." said the Lord. "Well then, has pain which is neither self-produced nor other-produced arisen by chance?" "Not so, Kassapa," said the Lord. "Then, sir Gotama, is there no pain?" "It is not the case that there is no pain, Kassapa, there is indeed pain." "Then sir Gotama does not know and perceive pain." "It is not the case, Kassapa, that I do not know and perceive pain. I do indeed know and perceive pain."

"Well now, sir Gotama, when you are asked if pain is produced by oneself, you say, 'Not so, Kassapa.' When you are asked if it is produced by another . . . if it has arisen by chance, you say, 'Not so, Kassapa.' When you are asked if there is no pain, you say there is pain. When you are asked whether you do not know and perceive pain, you say that you know and perceive pain. Lord, may the Lord instruct me about pain, may the Lord teach me about pain."

"The view, Kassapa, of one who at first holds that pain is produced by oneself is, 'One produces (pain), and (the same) one experiences it.' This assertion results in (the principle of) Permanence.

"The view of one overcome by feeling, who holds that pain is produced by another, is 'One produces (pain), and another experiences it.' This assertion results in (the principle of) Annihilation.

"The Tathāgata, Kassapa, avoiding both these extremes

teaches you the Doctrine by a middle method : having ignorance as a cause there are the aggregates, having the aggregates as a cause there is consciousness [1] . . . even so is the cause of all this mass of pain. But with the complete cessation of ignorance there is the cessation of the aggregates [1] . . . even so is the cessation of all this mass of pain."

Saṃyutta, ii, 18.

[1] The whole twelve links of the Causal Formula (p. 118) are meant to be repeated here.

THE MONASTIC ORGANIZATION

LVII

THE ORDER OF MONKS

Within a certain prescribed boundary (*sīmā*) each body of monks holds its own fortnightly meeting for repeating the Pātimokkha. One monk chosen at the time directs the proceedings, but without authority over the others, and disciplinary matters are settled by all the monks in session. The following passage describes the constitution of the Order after Buddha's death.

The conversation of the elder Ānanda with the brahmin Gopaka was broken off.[1] The brahmin Vassakāra, minister of the Magadha king, who was inspecting the works at Rājagaha, came to the works of the brahmin Gopaka and approached Ānanda. Having come he exchanged courteous and friendly greetings with him and sat down at one side. As the brahmin Vassakāra sat there, he asked Ānanda what their conversation had been that was broken off. (And Ānanda told him.)

"Now, sir Ānanda, is there a single monk who has been appointed by sir Gotama, saying, 'After my passing away he shall be a protection to you,' and to whom you are now to have recourse?" "There is not, brahmin." "Is there a single monk who has been authorized by the Order and appointed by a large number of senior monks, saying, 'After the passing away of the Lord

[1] See p. 133. This is continuous with the above passage, but forms quite a separate discussion.

he shall be our protection,' and to whom you are now to have recourse ?" "There is not, brahmin." "Then if you are without protection, what is the cause of your concord ?" "Well, brahmin, we are not without protection ; we have a protection, it is the protection of the Doctrine."

"But how, sir Ānanda, is the meaning of what you say to be understood ?" "The Lord, brahmin, the knower, the perceiver, the arahat, the all-enlightened, has prescribed the rules of training, and has set out the rules of discipline.[1] We on the Fast-day, as many of us as live near one village-district, meet together, and having met we inquire about the behaviour of each. If while this is being recited an offence or transgression of a monk is found, we make him act according to the Doctrine and according to its intention. But really it is not we who make him ; it is our Doctrine that makes him.

Gopaka-moggallāna-s., *Majjhima*, iii, 8.

LVIII

ADMISSION AND ORDINATION

There are two stages in attaining the state of monk, the going forth from the world (*pabbajjā*) or admission to the Order by a senior monk, when the candidate becomes a novice, and ordination (*upasampadā*), the conferring by the Order of the full status of monk. The latter can only take place when the candidate is twenty years of age. The forms of admission are

[1] The rules of training are in the first place the ten rules which the monk learns as a novice (p. 216). The rules of discipline are the *Pātimokkha*, the list of offences recited at each fortnightly Fast-day.

mostly given in the *Vinaya*. As actually used they have been extracted and annotated, and exist separately in a collection of formulas known as *kammavācā* " utterances of official acts ". From this the following is taken.

Admission of a Novice

[1] Give leave. Showing compassion grant me admission, reverend one. (*Sitting on his haunches.*) I ask for admission, reverend one. A second time I ask. . . . A third time I ask. . . . Admit me, reverend one, who have taken this yellow robe for the purpose of freedom from all pain and the realizing of Nirvāṇa, showing pity. *A third time.*

Give leave. I do reverence, reverend one. Pardon me all offences, reverend one. The merit that I have performed may my master approve. May the merit performed by my master be given to me.—Good, good, I approve.

Give leave. Showing compassion grant me the moral rules with the threefold Refuge. (*He crouches down.*) I ask, reverend one, for the Refuges and the moral rules. A second time I ask . . . a third time I ask [2] . . . I take upon me these ten rules of training. (*He rises.*) I do reverence, reverend one.—I approve.

Taking a Tutor

Give leave. Showing compassion grant me a resource,[3] reverend one. (*Sitting on his haunches.*) I ask, reverend

[1] The candidate addresses his tutor.

[2] Here he repeats after the tutor the three Refuges (I go to the Buddha as a refuge, I go to the Doctrine as a refuge, I go to the Order as a refuge) and the ten rules of training, p. 216.

[3] i.e. the support of a tutor. If he is of age ordination may follow at once.

one, for a resource. A second time, reverend one, I ask for a resource. A third time, reverend one, I ask for a resource. Become my tutor, reverend one. *A third time.*—It is fitting.

Give leave. I accept. *A third time.* Now from this day forth the elder is a charge to me, and I am a charge to the elder. *A third time.*[1]

Give leave. You are Nāga by name ?—Give leave. Yes, reverend one.—Your tutor is the elder Tissa,[2] by name ?—Yes, reverend one.

Ordination of a Monk

Reverence to the Lord, the Arahat, the All-enlightened.[3]

First you must be made to take a tutor. After having taken a tutor you must be instructed about bowl and robes. This is your bowl ?—Yes, reverend one.—This is your robe ?—Yes, reverend one.—This is your upper robe ?—Yes, reverend one.—This is your inner robe ?—Yes, reverend one.—Go there, stand in that place.

Let the Assembly, reverend ones, hear me. Nāga desires ordination under the reverend Tissa. If it seems the right time to the Assembly, I will instruct Nāga. Listen, Nāga. This is your true time, your real time. When in the midst of the Assembly a question is asked about what has happened and it is true, you are to say

[1] The candidate retires to the foot of the assembly, where the bowl is fixed on his back. He is brought back by his tutor, placed in front of the presiding monk, and two monks stand one on each side.

[2] The names Nāga and Tissa, two frequently occurring names, are used here as examples.

[3] Said by the tutor and the other monks, who now examine him.

" There is " ; when it is not true you are to say " There is not ". Do not be embarrassed, do not be confused. Thus I will ask :

There are such diseases of yours as leprosy ?—There is not, reverend one.—Tumour ?—There is not, reverend one.—White leprosy ? —There is not, reverend one.—Phthisis ?—There is not, reverend one.—Epilepsy ?—There is not, reverend one.—You are a human being ? [1]—Yes, reverend one.—You are a man ?—Yes, reverend one.—You are a free man ?—Yes, reverend one.—You are free from debt ?—Yes, reverend one.—You are not a royal servant ?—Yes, reverend one.—You are permitted by your mother and father ?—Yes, reverend one.—You are full twenty years of age ?—Yes, reverend one.—Your bowl and robes are complete ?—Yes, reverend one.—Of what name are you ?—I am Nāga by name, reverend one.—Of what name is your tutor ?—My tutor, reverend one, is the reverend elder Tissa by name.

Let the Assembly, reverend ones, hear me. Nāga desires ordination under the reverend Tissa. He has been instructed by me. If it seems the right time to the Assembly, let Nāga approach.—(The tutor) should say " Approach ".—Approach.—I ask the Assembly, reverend one, for ordination. May the Assembly, reverend ones, raise me up, showing pity. A second time I ask. . . . A third time I ask. . . .

Let the Assembly, reverend ones, hear me. This Nāga desires ordination under the reverend Tissa. If

[1] This was asked owing to the belief that there were non-human beings who might assume human form.

it seems the right time to the Assembly, I will ask Nāga about impediments. Listen, Nāga. This is your true time, your real time. When I ask you about what has happened and it is true, you are to say " There is " ; when it is not true you are to say " There is not ".

There are such diseases of yours as leprosy ?—There is not, reverend one.—Tumour ?—There is not, reverend one.—White leprosy ?—There is not, reverend one.—Phthisis ?—There is not, reverend one.—Epilepsy ?—There is not, reverend one.—You are a human being ?—Yes, reverend one.—You are a man ?—Yes, reverend one.—You are a free man ?—Yes, reverend one.—You are free from debt ?—Yes, reverend one.—You are not a royal servant ?—Yes, reverend one.—You are permitted by your mother and father ?—Yes, reverend one.—You are full twenty years of age ?—Yes, reverend one.—Your bowl and robes are complete ?—Yes, reverend one.—Of what name are you ?—I am Nāga by name, reverend one.—Of what name is your tutor ?—My tutor, reverend one, is the elder Tissa by name.

Let the Assembly, reverend ones, hear me. This Nāga desires ordination under the reverend elder Tissa. He is free from impediments. His bowl and robes are complete. Nāga asks the Assembly for ordination through the reverend Tissa his tutor. If it seems the right time to the Assembly, let the Assembly ordain Nāga through the reverend Tissa his tutor. This is the resolution :

Let the Assembly, reverend ones, hear me. This Nāga desires ordination under the reverend Tissa. He is free from impediments. His bowl and robes are complete. Nāga asks the Assembly for ordination through

the reverend Tissa his tutor. The Assembly ordains Nāga through the reverend Tissa his tutor. Let the reverend one who approves of the ordination of Nāga through Tissa his tutor be silent. Let him who does not approve speak. A second time I utter the matter. . . . A third time. . . . (The resolution is put three times.)

Nāga has been ordained by the Assembly through the reverend Tissa his tutor. The Assembly approves, therefore it is silent. Thus I understand it.[1]

Upasampadā-kammavācā.

LIX

THE NOVICE'S TEN RULES

The three following passages illustrate the way in which the origin of the Vinaya rules are explained. Each rule is held to have been enjoined by Buddha, and is introduced by the account of some incident which led to the rule. Some of these incidents are doubtless records of real events. In other cases they are merely formal, as when we are told that a certain monk committed an offence or that the disciples found themselves in doubt in a particular case. The first nine of the novice's rules are seen in a modified form as the eight Fast-day rules of laymen, p. 152.

[1] After the ordination "measuring the shadow" takes place in order to determine the exact time and hence the seniority of the monk or monks. The four *nissayas* (resources) and the four fundamental offences are then explained. The nissayas (severe rules to which exceptions are allowed) are, (1) to eat only food gained by begging (2) to wear clothes taken from a dustheap, (3) to sleep at the foot of a tree, (4) to use only decomposed urine as medicine. The four fundamental offences are the four Pārājika rules, p. 219.

Now the Lord having stayed at Kapilavatthu as long as he wished, went away journeying to Sāvatthī. Journeying by stages he reached Sāvatthī and stayed there. So the Lord dwelt at Sāvatthī in the Jetavana monastery in the park of Anāthapiṇḍika. Now at that time a family that ministered to the elder Sāriputta sent a boy to him asking the elder to admit the boy to the Order. So the elder Sāriputta thought, " The Lord has prescribed the rule that two novices are not to be ordained by one person,[1] and Rāhula here is my novice. How then can I admit him ? " He informed the Lord about the matter. " I enjoin, monks, that two novices may be admitted by one prudent monk who is competent, or as many as he is able to exhort and instruct, so many may he admit."

Now the monks thought, " What now are our rules of training, and wherein are we to train ourselves ? " They informed the Lord about the matter. " I enjoin, monks, ten rules of training for novices : (1) refraining from taking life, (2) refraining from taking what is not given, (3) refraining from incontinence, (4) refraining from falsehood, (5) refraining from strong drink, intoxicants, and liquor, which are occasions of carelessness, (6) refraining from untimely food,[2] (7) refraining from dancing, singing, music, and seeing shows, (8) refraining from the use of garlands, scents, and unguents, which are objects of adornment, (9) refraining from a high or large bed, (10) refraining from accepting gold and silver. I enjoin on the novices, monks, these

[1] This is an example of a rule that was abrogated.

[2] From noon until the next day.

ten rules of training, and in these the novices are to train themselves."

Vinaya, Mahāvagga, I, 55, 56.

LX

PROCLAMATION OF THE FAST-DAY

The practice of holding a Fast-day for the purpose of meeting at stated times was probably adopted from brahmin custom. The Buddhist account (*Vinaya*, i, 101) tells us that it was suggested by the practice of wanderers of other schools, who "assembled on the fourteenth or fifteenth and the eighth of each half month and preached their doctrine, and the people, came to listen". This was known as the Fast-day (*uposatha*) itself a brahmin term meaning the day of preparation before the Soma sacrifice. At every fortnightly meeting the Pātimokkha (227 rules for the monks) is recited, beginning after certain preliminaries with the exhortation given here.

Now at that time when the Lord had gone to meditate in solitude the following reflection occurred to him: "What if I enjoin the rules of training which I have prescribed for the monks to be recited as their Pātimokkha. This will be their fast-day service" (*uposatha-kamma*).

So the Lord in the evening having risen from his meditation in solitude, on this occasion and at this circumstance gave a religious discourse and addressed themonks: "When I had gone, monks, to meditate here in solitude the following reflection occurred to me: 'What if I enjoin the rules of training which I have prescribed for the monks to be recited as their Pātimokkha. This will be their Fast-day service.' I enjoin, monks, that the

Pātimokkha is to be recited. And thus, monks, it is to be recited :

"The Assembly is to be informed by a learned and competent monk : 'Let the Assembly, reverend ones, hear me. To-day is the Fast-day of the fifteenth day.[1] If it appears the right time to the Assembly, let the Assembly perform the Fast-day service and recite the Pātimokkha. How is it with regard to the necessary preliminaries for the Assembly? Reverend ones, announce your purity (freedom from disabilities). I will recite the Pātimokkha.' 'We are all listening well and reflecting on it.' 'He who has incurred a fault should declare it ; if there is no fault he should keep silence. Now by your silence, reverend ones, I shall know that you are pure. Now as there is a reply for each question, so to such a meeting as this it is proclaimed three times. Now should a monk, when it is proclaimed three times, remember a fault that he has committed and not declare it, he would be guilty of a conscious falsehood. Now a conscious falsehood, reverend sirs, has been declared by the Lord to be a hindrance (to advance). Therefore a monk who remembers that he has committed a fault and wishes to be pure, should declare the fault committed, for when declared it is easy for him (to advance).'"[2]

Vinaya, *Mahāvagga*, II, 3.

[1] The month was lunar and was divided into two halves. The fifteenth (or sometimes the fourteenth) of each half month was thus either full moon or new moon.

[2] The rules which then follow are arranged in seven groups according to their gravity :—

(1) Four Pārājika rules, violation of which involves permanent

LXI

THE ORDER OF NUNS

The following account is part of a longer legend. In the fifth year after his enlightenment Buddha had paid a visit to his home and preached to his father Suddhodana, who as a layman attained arahatship on his death-bed. It was after this that Mahāpajāpatī, widow of Suddhodana and aunt of Buddha, wished to become a nun. Later accounts say that among these first nuns was Buddha's former wife.

At that time Buddha the Lord was dwelling at Kapilavatthu in the Banyan Park. So Mahāpajāpatī approached the Lord, and having approached saluted the Lord and stood at one side. Standing there Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī said to the Lord, " It would be good, Lord, for women to receive the going forth from a house to a houseless life in the doctrine and discipline declared by the Tathāgata." " Enough, Gotamī, do not

expulsion. (Incontinence, stealing, taking life or persuading to suicide, false boasting of spiritual attainments.)

(2) Thirteen rules involving a period of penance and reinstatement. (Minor sexual offences, insubordination, etc.)

(3) Two rules of undetermined cases, which might be brought under one or other of the classes.

(4) Thirty rules requiring expiation and involving forfeiture. (Concerning possession of robes, bowl, medicine, and use of money.)

(5) Ninety-two rules requiring expiation. (Use of bad language, conduct towards women and the nuns.)

(6) Four rules requiring confession. (On eating and accepting food.)

(7) Seventy-five rules of training. (Concerning behaviour in daily life, dress, and preaching to lay people.)

(8) Seven rules for legal procedure in cases which arise as above.

In theory all offences must be confessed at the recital of the Pātimokkha, but as this takes place only twice a month and immediate confession is required, confession is made privately to another monk.

desire the going forth of women from a house to a houseless life in the doctrine and discipline declared by the Tathāgata." (A second and a third time she asked and was refused.) So Mahāpajāpatī perceiving that the Lord did not enjoin the going forth of women from a house to a houseless life in the doctrine and discipline declared by the Tathāgata, sad and depressed, with her eyes full of tears and weeping, saluted the Lord by passing round him to the right and went away.

Now the Lord having stayed at Kapilavatthu as long as he wished went away to Vesālī journeying by stages, and stayed at Vesālī. There the Lord dwelt at Vesālī in the Mahāvana (great forest) in the pinnacled hall. So Mahāpajāpatī had her hair cut off, put on yellow robes, and with a large number of Sakya women went away to Vesālī, and by stages reached the pinnacled hall in the Mahāvana at Vesālī. With swollen feet and limbs covered with dust Mahāpajāpatī, sad and depressed, with her eyes full of tears and weeping, stood outside the gateway. Now the elder Ānanda saw Mahāpajāpatī . . . and said to her, "Why, Gotamī, are you standing outside the gateway with swollen feet and limbs covered with dust, sad and depressed, with your eyes full of tears and weeping?" "Because, reverend Ānanda, the Lord does not enjoin the going forth of women from a house to a houseless life in the doctrine and discipline declared by the Tathāgata." "Then, Gotamī, remain here a while, until I ask the Lord for the going forth of women from a house to a houseless life in the doctrine and discipline declared by the Tathāgata."

So the elder Ānanda approached the Lord, and having approached sat down at one side. As he sat there he said to the Lord, "Lord, Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī with swollen feet . . . and weeping is standing outside the gateway, and says that the Lord does not enjoin the going forth of women from a house to a houseless life in the doctrine and discipline declared by the Tathāgata. It would be good, Lord, for women to receive the going forth. . . ." "Enough, Ānanda, do not desire the going forth of women from a house to a houseless life in the doctrine and discipline declared by the Tathāgata." (A second and a third time Ānanda asked and was refused.)

So Ānanda thought, "The Lord does not enjoin the going forth of women . . . What if I were to ask in another way for the going forth of women in the doctrine and discipline declared by the Tathāgata." So Ānanda said to the Lord, "Is it possible, Lord, for women who have gone forth from a house to a houseless life in the doctrine and discipline of the Tathāgata to realize the fruit of entering the Stream or the fruit of the Once-returner, or the fruit of the Non-returner, or arahatship?" "It is possible, Ānanda. . . ." "If, Lord, it is possible for women . . . Mahāpajāpatī, the aunt of the Lord, was of great service, she was his nurse and foster-mother, and gave him milk and, when his mother died, fed him from her own breast. It would be good, Lord, for women to receive the going forth. . . ." "If, Ānanda, Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī will take upon herself the eight strict rules, let this be her ordination:

"(1) A nun even of a hundred years' standing shall (first) greet a monk, rise up before him, salute him with

folded hands and make obeisance, even if he has only that day been ordained. This rule is to be honoured, respected, revered, and worshipped, and is not to be transgressed while life shall last.

"(2) A nun shall not spend Retreat in a place where there is no monk. This rule . . .

"(3) Every half month a nun shall look to the Order of monks for two things; inquiry about the time of the Fast-day and the visit of a monk to give exhortation. This rule . . .

"(4) At the end of Retreat the final ceremony (*pavāraṇā*) concerning what has been seen, heard, or suspected, is to be held by a nun both in the assembly of the monks and the assembly of the nuns.[1] This rule . . .

"(5) A nun who has committed a serious offence shall undergo the mānatta discipline (a period of probation) in both assemblies. This rule . . .

"(6) Having passed two years in training in the six rules[2] she shall ask for ordination in both assemblies. This rule . . .

"(7) No nun shall rebuke or abuse a monk on any pretext. This rule . . .

"(8) From this day forth utterance of the nuns to the monks is excluded; utterance of the monks to the nuns is not excluded.[3]

"If, Ānanda, Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī will take upon

[1] At this ceremony each monk asked pardon of the others for any offence that they had seen, heard, or suspected. The nuns by this rule were required to ask the monks as well as their fellow nuns.

[2] These are the first six of the novice's rules, p. 217.

[3] This means, says Oldenberg, not any utterance, but rather that the nuns cannot charge a monk with an offence.

herself these eight strict rules, let this be her ordination."

So the elder Ānanda having received the eight strict rules from the Lord approached Mahāpajāpatī and said, "If, Gotamī, you will take upon yourself these eight strict rules, this shall be your ordination." (They are repeated to her by Ānanda.)

"Just as if, reverend Ānanda, a woman or a man, who is young and fond of adornment, after washing her head receives a garland of lotus or jasmine or rosewood flowers, takes it with both hands and puts it on her head, even so, reverend Ānanda, do I take upon myself these eight strict rules, not to be transgressed while life shall last."

Then the elder Ānanda approached the Lord and sat down at one side. As he sat there he said to the Lord, "Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī has taken upon herself the eight strict rules. The aunt of the Lord has received ordination." "If, Ānanda, women had not received the going forth from a house to a houseless life in the doctrine and discipline declared by the Tathāgata, the religious life would last a long time, the good doctrine would stay for a thousand years. But as women have gone forth, now, Ānanda, the religious life will not last long, now the good doctrine will last only five hundred years. Just as houses, where there are many women and few men, are broken into by burglars,[1] even so, in that doctrine and discipline in which women receive the going forth from a house to a houseless life the religious life will not last long. Just as when the kind of disease called

[1] Lit. "pot-stealing robbers".

white-boned (mildew) falls upon a field of rice, the field of rice will not last long . . . just as when the disease called crimson falls upon a field of sugar-cane, that field will not last long, even so, Ānanda, in that doctrine and discipline in which women receive the going forth from a house to a houseless life the religious life will not last long. Just as a man, Ānanda, might in anticipation make a dyke for a great reservoir, so that the water should not overflow, even so, Ānanda, have I in anticipation prescribed these eight strict rules for the nuns, not to be transgressed while life shall last."

Vinaya, *Culla-vagga*, x, 1.

LXII

THE NUN SOMĀ

The important place taken by women ascetics in early Buddhism is shown by the existence in the Scriptures of a collection of verses (*Therī-gāthā*) attributed to about a hundred nuns. The nun Somā is one of them, and she is also described as being molested by Māra while meditating. This is the incident here given. The verse of Māra and the first of Somā's verses also occur with her other verses in the *Therī-gāthā*.

The nun Somā dressed herself in the morning, took her bowl and robe, and went into Sāvatthī for alms. Having gone for alms, after her meal when she had returned from begging, she went to the Andha Wood to stay in the open air.

Then Māra the wicked, wishing to produce fear, consternation, and hair-raising in the nun Somā and make

her fall from her state of concentration, drew near to where she was, and addressed her with a verse :—

"That station, hard to be attained,
Even for sages hard to reach,
Not by her with two-fingered wisdom,[1]
Not by a woman can it be won."

Then the nun Somā thought, "Now is it a man or a superhuman being who is uttering this verse ?" So she thought, "It is Māra the wicked, who wants to produce fear, consternation, and hair-raising in me, and wants to make me fall from my state of concentration." So seeing that it was Māra the wicked she addressed him with verses :—

"The woman's state, what matters it,
To one whose mind is well-composed,
In whom knowledge is arising,
And who right Doctrine contemplates ?

"Should there be anyone who thinks,
'I am a woman or a man,
Or again I am something else,'
To him let Māra deign to speak."

So Māra the wicked thinking, "The nun Somā knows me," pained and sad, thereupon disappeared.

Saṃyutta, i, 129.

[1] Two fingers in breadth. The commentators were not sure about the meaning. Buddhaghosa says it refers to women taking raw cotton with two fingers from a ball and spinning it. Dhammapāla says that girls, when from the age of seven or eight they are cooking rice, cannot tell when it is done, so they take some out with a spoon and squeeze it with two fingers.

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Printed in Great Britain by Stephen Austin & Sons, Ltd., Hertford.